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TERRAQUEA;

OR, A

NEW SYSTEM

OF

Geography and Modern History.

BY

THE REV. JAMES GORDON,

RECTOR OF CANNAWAY, IN THE DIOCESE OF CORK, AND

VICAR OF BARRAGH, IN THE DIOCESE OF LEIGHLIN.

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P R E F A C E.

THE readers of the four volumes now published will easily perceive that at least four others will be requisite for the completion of this work. The latter, treating of countries totally different from the western regions of Europe, in the manners of their inhabitants and other circumstances, will prove much more entertaining than the former, as they will afford a much greater portion of interesting information, or of matter new to the generality of readers. The last volume will exhibit an index and appendix of a peculiar kind, or in a new plan, calculated to supply whatever deficiencies shall have been discovered in the foregoing volumes, particularly to specify the changes which shall have been found to have

taken place in the political state of the several countries of the globe after the publication of the first accounts concerning them in this concise, though I hope not unsatisfactory, system of modern history. The remaining volumes, however, though a great part of them is already written, will probably not be published until after an interval of some years, as they are not to be printed by subscription, and as a considerable number of high priced books, not speedily procurable by one in my present circumstances, is wanted still to render them complete.

I am sorry to have been obliged to withhold so long from my subscribers the present volume, the manuscript of which was three years ago ready for the press; but the expences of publication are such, that, notwithstanding a list of respectable subscribers, I could not even now have given it to the public, if I had not been enabled by a benefice from the present Lord Bishop of Cork, the Honorable and Right Reverend Thomas Stopford; and I scruple not to avow that, beside the emolument, I feel much pleasure in thinking that I could not owe an obligation to a worthier man.

The

The pause, which I am obliged at present to make in the progress of this publication, is attended with less regret than those which I formerly made on the same account, as I have now performed my engagement to my subscribers, and as I shall have in the mean time an opportunity of publishing a small, but I hope, useful work, the *Present State of the Church of Ireland*, for the materials of which I shall make a more general application to my reverend brethren of this kingdom, from many of whom I have already received information in answers obligingly returned to my queries.

Two or three immaterial errors, not in the least affecting the information conveyed to the reader, which I have observed in these volumes since their publication, would be particularized in this preface, if I had not resolved to leave them for the sagacity of reviewers, who may perhaps deign to honour this work with their inspection. If they escape the sagacity of such profound critics as the gentleman who criticised my first volume in the *Monthly Review* for September 1791, in which alone, so far as I have

have heard, this work has been noticed by reviewers, I shall take another opportunity of giving the necessary corrections.

Occasional declarations of my sentiments concerning customs and manners, in the course of my writing, declarations excited by benevolence to my fellow-creatures, must naturally be expected to give displeasure to the less candid among those, who practise what I, in my slender but honest judgment, condemn as detrimental to the happiness or substantial good of society. I understand that many gentlemen of the hunting occupation are offended at the difference of my opinion from theirs, respecting their favorite amusement, particularly as it is expressed in volume 3, pages 328, 329, and have advanced three arguments to demonstrate its rectitude and utility; first, that the king is a huntsman; secondly, that, as God has furnished all the objects and materials of the chase, it must have come recommended to his creatures by the wisdom of the Supreme Being; and thirdly, since packs of hounds consume great quantities of cat-meal (for doubtless they are

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v

are always well fed, as their owners are always men of affluent circumstances, and of too great humanity to bear the cries of hunger in their favorite animals) great encouragement is thereby given to agriculture. The first of these arguments is unanswerable, as the king can do no wrong. The second seems also unanswerable, since it proves all actions to be right. The third is not only beyond the reach of my logic, but also suggests a happy expedient for the advancement of tillage; for, since the race of dogs is easily propagated, their number and consumption may be augmented to any pitch required. Be this as it may, some of my worthiest friends are huntsmen, at least occasionally, and notwithstanding the cogency of the above arguments, (so impregnable to conviction is a narrow mind rendered by prejudice) I cannot avoid a wish that they would rather give their countenance to occupations which have a more direct, or less *refined* tendency to promote the prosperity of their country.

No maps are furnished with this volume, because the furnishing of so many, as would
be

be required for the countries described in it, would be attended with great expence, without any correspondent utility to the reader; indeed, in my opinion, without any utility at all, as I have more fully expressed in the preface of the second volume. I cannot suppose any of my readers destitute of general maps, much more convenient for occasional application, and on at least as large a scale as any which I could pretend to insert here.

I take leave of my subscribers with sincere thanks, particularly to those few generous persons, who, from the benevolence of their minds, or the favorable opinion which they were pleased to form concerning the merit of the work, voluntarily exerted themselves to procure subscriptions for its publication.

TERRAQUEA.

THE

FERROE ISLANDS,

CALLED also Faroer and Faro, form a group of twenty-five or more in number, situate between the Shetland islands and the great isle of Iceland. They consist of immense rocks, rising high above the surface of the deep, thinly coated with earth, quite destitute of trees, abundantly supplied with springs of water, rugged, mountainous, and severed one from another by deep and rapid channels of the sea, where prevail strong currents in vast variety, eddies and whirlpools, which, augmented in violence by the storms of this tempestuous region, render navigation extremely dangerous, even to mariners accustomed to these channels. The most remarkable whirlpool is at a great rock, named Sumboe-Munk, which rises from the sea to the south of Suderoe, the most southern of these isles.*

* Jacobson Debes' description of the Ferroe islands, 1676, p. 46—53.

Seasons.

As these islands differ but little, either in latitude, or in the nature of their situation with respect to the ocean and continent, from the isles of Shetland, they cannot be expected to differ much from the same in temperature and seasons. The summer is still more luminous here than in Shetland. During a whole month about the summer solstice continual day may be said to reign, for notwithstanding what is called a night of above four hours, when the sun is invisible, the descent of that luminary below the horizon is so small, and the twilight so strong, that no night is perceptible. In fact the inhabitants of the Ferroses enjoy daylight and twilight, or the direct and reflex light of the sun, alternately, during near four months without interruption. The winter is long, gloomy, and terribly tempestuous, but not so dark as the summer is luminous.

The air is extremely moist; the heat of summer very moderate, and the cold of winter so far from rigorous, that the cattle are left in the fields without covering or fodder all that season; but sometimes, when frost or snow prevails with uncommon force, great numbers of these poor animals perish with cold and hunger. The predominant winds blow from the west and south-west. Thunder is reported never to be heard here in summer, at least less frequently than in winter. The storms are tremendous, tearing the tough grassy sod from the sides of the hills, and rolling it together like a sheet of lead: Yet, oft, while the tempest rages above, a calm reigns in the vallies, insomuch that lighted candles may be carried from house to house in the open
air,

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3

air. Whirlwinds are so impetuous, that, on their approach, men throw themselves flat on the ground, and cling to the grass, lest they should be dashed against a rock or some other object.

Fish and sea-fowl constitute in some proportion the food of the inhabitants. The former appear to have been far more abundant two centuries ago than at present. Turf is the fuel of these islands. Their soil yields no trees except some small juniper shrubs and willows. Barley is the only grain which can here be brought to maturity, and even that arrives not to full perfection. Grass, in some places extremely nutritive, grows abundantly, and the best pastures are observed to have a slope to the north and noreast; for which the only reason assigned is, that from their position these receive the greatest quantities of snow, and consequently of nitrous particles conveyed to the soil by this lixivium of nature. When the last circumstantial description of these islands was written, they were destitute of serpents, and contained no other wild quadrupedes than rats and mice. The cattle were neats, horses, and sheep; the last very numerous, and, excepting their appropriation to particular owners, great part of them wild. The exports are chiefly salted mutton, feathers, eider-down, stockings, and some other coarse articles of woollen manufacture.

Productions.

When these islands were first visited by men is uncertain. They appear to have been colonized by Norwegian fugitives in the ninth century, and to have remained some time independent. Their

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Inhabi-
tants.

history is not very clearly related, but they were finally brought under the dominion of Norway, and with that kingdom became subject to the king of Denmark, to whom they still belong, and who, by the confiscations of estates and ecclesiastical possessions, is long ago become proprietor of most of the lands. The inhabitants, reckoned by some twenty thousand in number,* by others little more than four thousand seven hundred,† are chiefly descended from Norwegians and Danes, speaking the dialects of both these nations; but the latter gradually gains the ascendancy. They are governed by the laws of Norway, and profess the Lutheran religion according to the confession of Augsburg. Their clergy, governed immediately by a provost, who is under the bishop of Zeeland, are extremely poor. Beside particular magistrates they have over them a bailey in common with the people of Iceland. They wear a sort of wide jackets of flannel or coarse woollen stuff, and a rude shoe like that of the Icelanders.

Isles.

This group of islands extends through a tract of ocean near seventy miles in length from south to north. Only seventeen are said to be inhabited; the rest of the isles being holms, where cattle are left to graze without keepers. Some parts of this group may be here briefly noticed: the names of them all will be found in the tables at the end of this volume.

* Busching, tome 1. p. 368—A la Haye, 1768.

† Randolph's Letters, p. 31.

THE FERROE ISLANDS.

The most southern of the Ferroes is Suderoe, Suderoe. twenty English miles long and eight broad, with a hilly surface, and a high rocky western shore accessible only in four places from the sea, and even there not without difficulty.

Store-Diemen, or Great Dam, situate noreast-Store-Diemen. ward of Suderoe, is of a diminutive size, round, and little more than a mile in diameter, but remarkable for its natural fortifications; the currents around it being so strong that no ships can lie near it, and the shores of such a nature as to be inaccessible except in one place, which is on the eastern side, and where only one man can approach at a time; from which circumstances it is supposed that thirty soldiers might defend it against the force of a nation.

Stromoe, the largest island of all this group, ex-Stromoe. tends twenty-four miles in length and eight in breadth, is furnished with some harbors, particularly Thorshaven, and is rough with high hills, over all which the mountain of Skelingsfels commands a view by superior elevation.

Bardoe is remarkable for its figure, somewhat like a crab in shape; and Fugloe, or Fowl-island, constitutes the noreastern extremity of the whole group.

ICELAND,

I C E L A N D.

I C E L A N D,

Coasts.

COMMONLY accounted, and here considered, as a European island, is the second in magnitude of all which can be classed under that denomination, but may, however, from the place which it holds between the two continents, as well be supposed to belong to America as to Europe. Less notched or broken by inlets on the eastern and southern sides, and somewhat rounded or gibbous on the latter, it is deeply indented or ferrated on the northern and western, more especially the last, where the openings from the deep are such that the land on the norwestern quarter takes the form of a peninsula with claws, or many long promontories. Numbers of isles and islets border the coasts around. The number of harbours is stated by some writers at twenty-two. The positions of the inlets of the sea and projections of the land can best be known from large maps of the country. Particular descriptions of them, if such could be accurately given, could not be interesting. The same may be said of the rivers and lakes. Among the latter are Thingvalla-vatn in the southwest, said to be about forty-miles in circuit, and My-vatn in the noreast, by some accounted of a less, and by others of a greater size.

The

I C E L A N D.

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The assemblage of grand and formidable objects, ^{Face.} which, in a collective observation, this great and extraordinary island presents to the view, fills the soul with a kind of gloomy astonishment little mollified by pleasing sensations. A vast and almost uninterrupted scene of desolation: the earth destitute of trees, bare, bleak, and of a horrid aspect: mountains in all directions throughout the whole extent of the land, volcanic, rocky, and barren, many of them cased in glaciers and eternal snow, many of them disgorging smoke, and sometimes tremendously bursting with fiery eruptions, preceded by earthquakes, and accompanied with various terrific phenomena: hot spouting fountains, which throw up into the air to an amazing height large columns of boiling water; and fields black with lava, divided by lofty sharp-pointed rocks vitrified by fire, which seem to vie one with another in concealing from the sight the patches of pasture-ground between the mountains, and the very thinly scattered habitations of the natives.

The chains of mountains, which fill this dreary ^{Moun-} region, are said to run generally from east to west, ^{tains.} or nearly in that direction. The highest mountain of Iceland is reported to be Snafels or Sneefjals, situate in a promontory of the same appellation in the west. All the Icelandic mountains appear to be volcanic, though not all at one time exhibiting external symptoms of subterraneous fire, by the emission of smoke or flame. Commonly with each volcano intervene many years of a quiescent state, and those, which are most firmly locked in cases of perennial

perennial frost, are most apt to recommence their fiery operations. The glacier, or huge casing of ice which invests the mountain, first bursts to shivers with a tremendous crash, which is followed by horrid explosions, thunderings, vast columns of flame, and showers of igneous matter. Every where the vestiges of fiery devastations, every where a soil composed of decayed cinders, lava, slags, and other volcanic substances, have given cause to pronounce all Iceland one continued chain or group of volcanos, and to suppose that it owes its origin to volcanic fire, or has been raised piece-meal in successive periods from the bottom of the ocean by this terrible operation of nature. So lately as the year 1783 a new island arose near the Icelandic shore from the bosom of the deep by an igneous eruption, which may perhaps in time so encrease in dimensions as at length to become a part of the main land.

Hekla.

Among the ignivomous mountains of this island are Krablaa, near the lake My-vatn in the noreast, and Katlegiaa in the south; but Hekla, though not the greatest, is the most celebrated of them all, partly on account of its more frequent conflagrations in modern times, and partly from its exposure to a more frequented tract of sea. This great volcano, which beside many other eruptions, flamed with horrid violence in the years 1693 and 1766, stands in the southern side of Iceland toward the west, rising to the elevation of at least five thousand feet, or near an English mile, above the level of the ocean, at the distance of above twenty miles from

from the shore, and ending in three summits, of which the highest is in the middle*.

The disruptions occasioned in Iceland by volcanic explosions have left many chasms or great yawning *Caverns*, fissures of the earth, and great numbers of caverns have been formed in the cooling of huge masses of lava, the upper parts of the igneous fluid cooling and hardening into a solid crust sooner than the lower, which are apt thus to separate and leave a vacuum. An instance of the fissures is that of Almennegiaa, near the water of Tingalla, of a great but unmeasured length from north to south, and a hundred and five feet wide, its western side or wall above a hundred and seven feet high, but its eastern only forty-five†. The caverns are useful to the Icelanders, being used as places of shelter for their cattle. The largest as yet described is that of Surtheller, above five thousand feet, or near an English mile long, above fifty feet high, and about thirty-five broad‡.

As the vestiges of igneous eruptions every where extant mark the devastations of numerous volcanos which have at various periods flamed throughout this country; so numbers of steaming and boiling *Hot springs* of water, here and there scattered, notify the unceasing action of immense fires far beneath the surface, perhaps even far beneath the foundations of this island. The Icelandic hot springs are of two kinds. The one sort flow gently, and re-

* Von Troil's Letters on Iceland, letter 20.

† Idem letter 19.

‡ Idem & ibidem.

semble the hot wells of Italy and other countries : the other are spouting fountains almost peculiar to Iceland, at least quite unparalleled in the natural history of any other part of the world hitherto known, and vastly surpassing in grandeur the most magnificent waterworks of art.

The spouting fountains, which are variously dispersed, not only in the land and even on the tops of mountains glazed with perpetual frost, but also beneath the waves of the sea around the coast, throw up, some incessantly, others only at intervals, with a thundering noise and clouds of smoke or vapor, columns of boiling water, six, ten, or more, feet in diameter, to the height of several yards, sometimes even twenty or more, with such violence that stones of the greatest size thrown into their orifices are forced upward with the water to a considerable height. The water of these fountains, vehemently heated, but not every where equally, boils a fowl or a piece of meat to rags in the space of a few minutes, and raises the thermometer to the pitch of from 188 to 213 degrees*.

Geyser.

The appellation of Geyser, given to several Icelandic fountains, is understood to belong more particularly to one which is the most wonderful of them all. This lies at about the distance of two days journey from Hekla, not far from a place called Skalholt, toward the south-west of the island, in a marsh about three English miles in circuit, where are forty or fifty spouting fountains, the steaming

* Von Troil, letter 1 and 19.

vapors of which ascend in vast clouds to a prodigious height like the smoke of a volcano. In the middle of these is Geyser, the roar of whose gushing waters resembles that of stupendous cataracts. The pipe of this fountain is of a cylindrical form nineteen feet in diameter, and ends above in a basin almost sixty feet broad and nine deep. The column of boiling water nineteen feet thick, which spouts at intervals upward perpendicularly with inconceivable force, raises the thermometer to 212 degrees, has been found by accurate mensuration to rise in the air to the height of ninety-two feet, and is confidently said to mount sometimes higher still *.

A perturbed atmosphere combines with the fury Seasons. of volcanic fire to heighten the scene of gigantic nature in this wild region. No species of corn can be brought fully to ripen, nor of trees to grow beyond the size of stunted shrubs, beneath its inclement sky; for, the raging tempests, which blow here frequently with resistless violence, and sometimes also with piercing cold, contribute, with some other disastrous phenomena, to frustrate the labors of the planter and the husbandman. Yet the temperature of the air in its ordinary state is not immoderate; the cold of winter not rigorous; the heat of summer commonly mild: but the inequalities of the latter are very considerable, and its incidental interruptions great and calamitous.

Sometimes from the almost continual presence of the sun in the middle of summer, the heat, in calm

* Von Troil, let. 21.

weather and other favoring circumstances, has been powerful ; but sharp and most unwelcome frosts are apt to come in May and June, to the no small discomfort and detriment of the inhabitants. Snow has been known to fall to the depth of a yard at the end of June, and to repeat its unseasonable visits in the two following months ; but an adventitious matter most noxious to the temperature of Iceland is driving and floating ice *, which, conveyed in vast quantities by northerly winds to the shores of this island, often fills all the inlets on the northern coasts, particularly toward the west, extending also over the main sea beyond the reach of the sight. These mountains and fields of ice, which diffuse in the Icelandic atmosphere a baleful chilness, commonly arrive in January, and retire in March : but sometimes they come in April and remain long on the shores, blasting the growth of herbage, and causing death to great numbers of cattle. A much rarer and more local accident, to which Iceland is subject, is the avalanche, or snowflood, which here sometimes, as in other mountainous and cold countries, tumbles from the steep with terrible and ruinous fall †.

From the difference of latitude between the northern and southern parts of this island little difference of temperature can arise ; but the former are more chilled by the adventitious ice. Though a

* For this ice see in volume the first, p. 78 of the first edition, or 77 of the second.

† For the avalanche, or snowflood, see vol. i. p. 301.

short spring and autumn have place, the inhabitants divide the year only into two seasons, the summer which commences on the next Thursday before the sixteenth of April, and the winter which dates its beginning on the Friday before the eighteenth of October. As the sun dips very little below the horizon in the middle of the former season, and that only for two or three hours at a time, no perfect night is perceived in three or four months; and in winter the long nights are illuminated, besides other lights, by the aurora borealis, which, more especially in dry weather, appears frequently in all quarters of the sky, particularly the southern, where from a dark segment issue strong columns of light, often tinged with yellow, green, and purple. Lightning and thunder are very infrequent in summer as well as winter, and are hardly ever known to happen except in the vicinity of volcanos. The lunar halo is a prognostic of bad weather, and the parhelion, or mock-sun, is chiefly seen at the arrival of the floating ice, when the air is so filled with frozen vapors that two or three, and sometimes even nine suns appear to shine at once, accompanied often with a rainbow.

In a region of so wild an atmosphere as Iceland; *Products.* ravaged by frequent hurricanes, and irregularly chilled by unseasonable frosts, agriculture can have little place, and the productions of the vegetable kingdom cannot be very copious. No species of corn can be cultivated with advantage, and excepting the manuring of some pasture grounds, and a very few small inclosed spots, by way of gardens, where

where potatoes, cabages, and some other hortulan vegetables are planted, agriculture is hardly known. Though it is evident from indubitable proofs that large quantities of timber formerly grew in Iceland, the country is at present destitute of trees, excepting some few of a very stunted growth, such as birch trees which exceed not the height of eight or twelve feet, nor the thickness of three or four inches. Fir trees and others of a similar kind, which have been planted with care, grow no higher than two or three feet. Among the vegetables of this island is the lichen *Icelandicus*, which, being agreeable to the taste, when properly prepared, and affording a very strong nutriment, would be very valuable to the inhabitants, if it were produced in large quantity. But the chief production of the Icelandic soil is a nutritious and succulent pasturage, which, notwithstanding the bleak and barren aspect of the land, grows plentifully in scattered spots; the moisture and temperature of the air, in its ordinary state, being favorable to the growth of grafs.

Animals. Though fish were formerly more abundant than at present on the coasts of Iceland, these constitute still the main sustenance of the natives. The rivers and lakes, as well as the seas, are plentifully stored with these aquatic animals. Concerning the trouts it has been observed that when they ascend “ the
“ rivers or brooks, and approach the hot springs,
“ they are fond of remaining in the lukewarm
“ water, where they grow so fat as to be scarcely
“ eatable

"eatable*." Of birds few countries have greater plenty or variety. Among these are falcons, which are said to be of three kinds, and to be purchased by the royal falconers at the rate of fifteen dollars each for the white sort, ten for the darker colored, and seven for the grey. Swans appear in great numbers about the lakes and rivers in summer, and in still greater on the seashores in winter, at the end of which season they are seen in flocks of a hundred each, and often much more. The most valuable of all the Icelandic birds is the eider-duck, which furnishes the inhabitants with eggs and precious down. About half a pound of this substance is commonly collected from a female during the whole time of her laying, and this is reduced to half the quantity by being cleaned.

The great white arctic bear comes every year a most unwelcome guest with the floating ice; but these formidable creatures are soon destroyed, for the government allows a premium of ten dollars, beside the price of the skin, for the killing of each of them. No wild quadrupedes are said to be bred on the island except rats, wild cats, and white and brown foxes. A breed of reindeer was introduced into Iceland in the year 1770, but how far it has since encreased I am not informed. The horses are small, but stout and serviceable. The neats are of a small size, mostly without horns, are apt to grow fat, and yield excellent beef. The sheep, which are vastly more numerous than any other species of

* Von Troil, letter 12.

cattle, have straight upright ears, small tails, and many of them four or five horns each. The wool, instead of being shorn, loosens of itself, and is stript from the body like a skin at the end of May. A sheep yields about four pounds of wool, and ewes have often two, and sometimes even three lambs each at a time. A good ewe yields, when milked, from two to six quarts of milk in the day, and of this both butter and cheese are made.

The neats are mostly housed in winter and fed with hay. When this article becomes scarce, a kind of fish called steenbitr, together with the heads and bones of cod, are pounded and mixed with chopped hay, which sort of fishy fodder, of which the cows are said to be fond, augments the quantity, but injures the taste of the milk. The same odd kind of food is given sometimes also to other cattle, but the horses and sheep are generally left to provide for themselves in the fields all the winter. The former in time of deep snow feed on seaweed along the shores. The sheep in snow-storms run for shelter to caverns, but when they are unable to reach a retreat of this kind, "they place themselves all in a heap, with their heads to the middle, and bent toward the ground, which not only prevents them from being so easily buried under the snow, but facilitates the owner's finding them again. In this situation they can remain several days *," and sometimes through hunger they have gnawed the wool one

* Von Troil, let. 12.

from another, which, forming balls in their stomachs, quickly destroys them.

Among the fossils of this island are basaltic pillars, which are here in great quantity and variety, as might well be expected from the volcanic nature of the country. Another fossil is a substance called *futurbrand*, which is "evidently wood, not quite petrified, but indurated, which drops asunder as soon as it comes into the air, but keeps well in water and never rots: it gives a bright, though weak flame, and a great deal of heat, and yields a sourish, though not unwholesome smell. The smiths prefer it to sea-coal. It is found in many parts of Iceland, generally in the mountains in horizontal beds*." The trees may perhaps have been reduced to this condition by being suddenly overwhelmed by a deluge of lava, or overturned by an earthquake and afterwards buried beneath the hot ashes and cinders of a volcano.

The Icelanders use for fuel *futurbrand*, stunted Fuel. birch trees, turf, fern, juniper, and black crowberry bushes. In some "places they burn the bones of cattle killed for butchers meat, and fishes moistened with train oil; also dried cowdung which has been all the winter in the meadows, and last of all floating wood. This floating wood, or drift wood, is obtained in great abundance every year, particularly at Langanas on the northwest side, and every where on the northern coast of the country†."

* Von Troil, let. 3.

† Idem et ibidem.

Com-
merce.

What might be the trade of Iceland, if it were laid fully open and properly encouraged, is not easily ascertained; but since the year 1734 the commerce has been monopolized by a trading company, incorporated for that purpose, who pay the king of Denmark six thousand dollars yearly for this privilege, and greatly injure the industry of the island without an adequate advantage to themselves. This company sends annually between twenty-four and thirty vessels to Iceland, with corn, bread, wine, iron, wood, and other articles; and from twenty-two harbors they export fish, salt meat, butter, blubber, skins, wool, eider-down, and some other kinds of goods. Nearly two thousand pounds of eider-down, cleaned and uncleaned, are every year exported on the company's account, beside what is smuggled by the Dutch and other foreigners.

Danish money is current in the country, but the whole amount of circulating cash cannot exceed a few thousands of dollars. "Their accounts are not all kept in money, but according to yards and fishes. Forty-eight fishes, each fish reckoned at two pounds, make one rix dollar, and twenty-four yards make one likewise. You may buy a horse for a hundred and fifty fish, and a farm for six thousand yards *." The yards are of coarse cloth, called wadmal, manufactured in the country.

Area.

From the extent of this great island a far greater commerce might be expected. According to the best maps hitherto published, it extends from the

* Von Troil, let. 13.

east towards the west about three hundred and ninety English, or three hundred and six Irish miles, and from south to north about two hundred and eighty of the former kind, or two hundred and twenty of the latter. Its area probably contains above twenty-eight millions of Irish, or forty-six millions of English acres. The population very ill corresponds to so great an area, the number of inhabitants hardly exceeding forty-six thousand* ; which is at the rate of one soul to a thousand acres, or nearly as one family to five thousand. They inhabit principally the coasts, but are also found scattered over all the interior country. They all dwell dispersed in separate farms ; not a single town or village being found in any part of the island ; but a farm is often seen to contain a number of houses for the accommodation of the owner and his tenants†.

From history we find that Iceland had formerly a less thin population. Who were its first inhabitants is not known. Some people professing the Christian religion, supposed to have been English and Irish, are said to have settled here in the early ages of Christianity ; but very little can at present be discovered concerning that event. A Norwegian pirate, named Naddoddr, driven by accident on the coast of this country in the year 861, gave it the appellation of Snowland from its mountains clothed in snow. Soon after some other navigators bent thither their course, one of whom named Floke, a Swede, gave the country its present name from the floating

* Randolph, p. 30.

† Troil, let. 2.

ice on its northern coasts. About the year 878, a Norwegian colony under the conduct of two chiefs, Ingolfr and Leifr, fixed itself in Iceland. This was followed by many others, infomuch that in the space of sixty years the whole island was colonized. These emigrations were greatly, but undesignedly, promoted by Harold Pulchricomus, king of Norway, whose tyranny drove numbers from their native country.

The several colonies were separate independent communities, until, to shun the calamities of reciprocal violence, they united into one large commonwealth, in which was a mixture of aristocracy and democracy, under the superintendence of a supreme elective magistrate. But the form of government was not such as to remedy, except in part, the evils which this institution was intended to prevent. Bloody feuds were frequently renewed, and the whole state at last became "a prey to a few arbitrary and enterprising men, who, as is too generally the case, wantonly abused their power to the oppression of their countrymen, and the disgrace of humanity *." In this domestic weakness of the Icelandic republic, the court of Norway, which had long regarded with jealous eyes the independence of this nation of Norwegian colonists, found means to bring it under its dominion. The greater part of the Icelanders put themselves under the protection of Hakans king of Norway, on certain conditions, in the year 1261, and their example was

* Troil, let. 4.

followed

followed by the rest in 1264. As an appendage of the Norwegian state Iceland became afterwards a part of the Danish dominions, and still remains subject to the crown of Denmark.

In the natural history of this island we find far more extraordinary revolutions than in the political. The Norwegian colonists found the country in a considerable part covered with wood, which the land seems now incapable of producing, and they imported seed corn, which they continued to sow with at least some degree of success for three or four centuries, but at length all culture of grain was laid aside, and seems at present impracticable to any effective purpose. The cause appears to be, that, from the increased accumulation of ice in the northern ocean, the temperature of this island has undergone a change for the worse since the settlement of the Norwegians in it *. Accidental calamities have been added to the deterioration of the Icelandic atmosphere. A dreadful pestilence in the thirteenth century, termed the black death, swept away a great proportion of the inhabitants: another, which raged for two years in the beginning of the fifteenth, made also terrible havoc: in the year 1707 and 1708 sixteen thousand persons died of the small pox; and sometimes in bad years, by unseasonable cold, famine has depopulated some parts of the country.

* Concerning the gradual accumulation of ice in the arctic tracts, and the progressive assimilation of these parts to the antarctic in this respect, I reserve my thoughts for the account of Greenland.

Litera-
ture.

The Norwegians, who colonized this island, brought with them some knowledge of letters and arts, particularly of navigation, which they practised with astonishing success, when we consider that the mariner's compass was then unknown. They discovered Greenland in the year 932, and some other countries in 1001, which must have been part of the American continent. Their literature, however, is accounted to have been in its infancy till the year 1056, when, together with Christianity, Latin letters were introduced. From the year 1110, when schools were first established, is dated the flourishing period of Icelandic literature, of which several much esteemed monuments remain, particularly the chronicles of Iceland. After the year 1264, when this country lost its independence, letters gradually declined, insomuch that the knowledge of them was almost intirely extinct from the end of the fourteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth, when its revival accompanied the reformation of religion. At present the Icelanders are not deficient in literature; and the common people in particular are more acquainted with reading than people of their class in most other countries of Europe.

Govern-
ment.

Over Iceland presides a governor, nominated by the king of Denmark, and residing at a place called Bessfædri in the south-west. Under him are a baili, two judges, a sheriff, and twenty-one sysselmen, or magistrates of the eighteen districts, called syssels, into which the island is divided. Appeals are admitted from the courts of the districts to two superior

rior courts at Thingvalla in the southwest, and from them to the supreme court of judicature at Copenhagen, the Danish capital. Justice is mostly administered according to the Danish laws, but sometimes also according to old Icelandic ordinances. Little military force is required to protect this island, nor would any expensive establishment be defrayed by its revenue to the king, which amounts only to thirty thousand rix dollars yearly.

Though some Christians are said to have been among the colonists of Iceland, all traces of Christianity were soon lost, and heathenism universally prevailed, till, after a few ineffectual attempts of zealous missionaries, the whole Icelandic nation was converted in the year 1000, which conversion was more permanently fixed by ecclesiastical establishments in 1057. In the year 1551 Lutheranism was established, which continues still to be the religion of this country. Its hierarchy consists of two bishops, who are suffragans to the bishop of Drontheim, and who are said to have two thousand rix dollars, or two hundred pounds, of yearly revenue, charged however with the expences of some establishments, which leave about a hundred and fifty pounds clear. The two dioceses, named Skallholt and Hoolum, contain a hundred and eighty-nine parishes, of which a hundred and twenty-seven belong to the former, and sixty-two to the latter. "All the ministers are native Icelanders, and receive a yearly salary of four or five hundred rix dollars from the king, exclusively of what they have from their

their congregations *." Some however are said to have not more than three or four pounds annually †.

Inhabi-
tants.

The Icelanders are mostly of Norwegian ancestry, though many Danes and Swedes were among the early colonists. Their language, uncommonly rich in poetical expressions, is nearly the same with that which was formerly spoken in all the Scandinavian countries, its purity being preserved in an extraordinary degree by the custom which almost universally prevails, even among the peasants, of reading the old historical relations of the exploits of their ancestors. The Icelandic tongue, to which the English originally bore a strong resemblance, is varied, with respect to pronunciation, into four dialects, and the Danish is understood on the coasts. The people are in general of a middle size, of so grave and serious deportment as very seldom to laugh, and are well shaped ; but, from their food and way of life, are inferior in strength and comeliness to the more southern inhabitants of Europe, are short-lived, few of them passing the age of sixty, and are subject in middle age to be attacked by many grievous disorders, among which are the scurvy and elephantiasis.

Habits.

Both sexes in Iceland are in general clothed in a coarse kind of cloth, called wadmal, manufactured among themselves. It is every where worn black, except in the norwest corner of the island, where it is the custom to have it white. Their dress is

* Troil, let. 5.

† Coxe's Travels in the Northern Countries, vol. 3. book 8. ch. 5. Dublin.

not elegant or ornamental, but neat, cleanly, and suited to the climate *. That of the males consists of a linen shirt; a short jacket; a wide pair of breeches; a short outside coat, called hempa, when they travel; a large three-cornered hat; shoes, and worsted stockings. Some wear shoes imported from Denmark, but the kind mostly in use are of rude form resembling the ancient brogue of Ireland, consisting of a square piece of leather, somewhat broader than the length of the foot, sewed together at the toe and heel, and tied on the foot with leathern thongs. The female habit is composed of a shift sewed together at the bosom; a boddice over it; a jacket laced before, with long narrow sleeves reaching to the wrists, with metal buttons on each side of the opening of the sleeve, and a little black collar above, about three inches broad, and sometimes trimmed with gold cord; a petticoat reaching to the ancles; and an apron of wadmal ornamented at top with chased buttons, and fastened to a hoop or girdle of metal. The hempa, or upper garment, is a hand's breadth shorter than the petticoat, close at the neck and wrists, and adorned with facing, like cut velvet, quite to the bottom. The head-dress, which is not permitted to unmarried girls, and which serves less for ornament than warmth, consists of several cloths wrapped round the head nearly as high above the forehead as the length of the face. Rings are worn on the fingers and a travelling hat is occasionally used.

* Troil, let. 7.

Instead of their ordinary habit, the men wear a particular sort when they are employed in fishing. This is made all of the skins of sheep or calves well rubbed with train oil, and consists of breeches and stockings all in one piece laced very tight on the waist; a wide jacket fastened round the neck and the middle of the waist; and water-shoes of thick leather; beside strong coarse woollen stockings next the skin.

Food.

The food of the Icelanders is varied with the circumstances of the consumers. Small quantities of bread of several sorts, particularly four biscuits, are imported from Copenhagen; but the Icelandic bread is made of imported rye flour, moistened with four fermented whey, kneaded into dough, and formed into cakes a foot broad and three inches thick, which, after being boiled in water or whey, are dried on a hot stone or an iron griddle. The lichen *Icelandicus*, called also rock-grass, is washed, dried, pounded in a bag, and stamped, till it is worked into flour, which is boiled into a very palatable pottage or stirabout. Flour is also made of three other kinds of vegetables, which are accounted species of wild corn. "The Icelanders seldom use fresh or salt butter, but let it grow four before they eat it. In this manner it may be kept above twenty years, and the Icelanders look upon it as more wholesome and palatable than the butter used among us. It is reckoned better the older it grows, and one pound of it then is as much valued as two pounds of fresh butter *."

* Troil, let. 9.

They

They eat all kinds of fish, salted, dried without salt, or preserved by frost in winter. The last are preferred by many, and in general fish a little tainted are preferred to fresh. The flesh of birds and quadrupeds is salted, dried in smoke, or preserved in casks with sour fermented whey. The only kind of cheese manufactured in Iceland is made from whey boiled into a thick consistence. The bones and cartilages of beef and mutton, and also the bones of codfish, first dissolved by boiling in whey, and then left to ferment, are eaten with milk. They also eat with new milk curds preserved in casks, and sometimes mixed with black crow-berries or juniper berries. Another article of aliment is new milk boiled a long time, and curdled milk boiled till it becomes of a red color. Their meals are commonly three in the day, about seven of the clock in the morning, two in the afternoon, and nine in the evening.

The common beverage of the Icelanders is milk. One of their liquors, called string, is whey, boiled to the consistence of sour milk, and reposed for winter. Another, denominated fyra, is sour whey, kept in casks, and left to ferment for a year, before the expiration of which it is not accounted fit for use. A third is blanda, which is a composition of water and fyra, eleven parts of the former and one of the latter, mixed however in winter with the juice of thyme and of black crow-berries. Strong broth is sometimes made by boiling meat in fyra instead of water.

The

Houses.

The houses are various, but in general very mean, not excepting even those of the gentry. In some places they are built of driftwood, in others of blocks of lava, with moss stuffed between the blocks. The roof is covered with fods instead of thatch, and a square hole above serves for a chimney. In place of wood the frame of the roof is composed sometimes of ribs of whales. Glass windows are not in use, but, in their stead, the membranes which surround the womb of the ewe, or, which is less transparent, the inner membrane of the stomach of animals, stretched over a hoop, and laid over an opening in the roof, over which a wooden shutter is fastened when the weather is stormy. The houses of the poorer sort are extremely small, and a fire is hardly ever lighted in them except to dress victuals, and then the fuel is laid on the ground between three stones in place of a hearth.

Manners.

The Icelanders, generally speaking, are simple in their manners and unacquainted with luxury, very hospitable for the little which they have to give, well instructed in religious duties and honest in their dealings, obliging, faithful to their engagements, extremely obedient to the ordinances of government, and so attached to their country, that perhaps no people in the world are more addicted, when abroad, to the nostalgia. From a want of proper motives they have little industry. They are not very chearful in conversation, and are much addicted to superstition and credulity.

The common people here amuse themselves in a much more laudable manner than those of their rank in most other countries, for their chief amusement is to read and recount one to another the histories of their ancestors. A friendly salutation is a kiss on the mouth, not only between persons of opposite sexes, but also between those of the same sex, male as well as female. Among the miscellaneous customs we may observe that it is a piece of gallantry for a young man to cleanse perfectly, for the accommodation of his fair one, some one of those numerous natural warm baths which are found in the island. He also presents her with buttons for the sleeves of her jacket, on which his name and hers are engraved. A bride at her wedding wears, close to her face, round her head-dress, a crown of silver gilt; two chains round her neck, one hanging down low, the other resting on her shoulders; and beside these "a smaller chain, from which a heart generally hangs, which may be opened to put balsam or some other kind of perfume into it *."

* Troil, let. 7.

JAN MAYEN,

CALLED also John May's ile, and Mauritius, lies with respect to Iceland toward the noreast, and in such a situation to the east of Greenland that it might rather be accounted an American island than a European. It received its name from Jan Mayen, a Dutchman, who discovered it in 1611. Oblong and small, but of undetermined extent, perhaps about twenty miles in length, it extends from south-west to noreast, intensely cold, barren, destitute of inhabitants, and serving only as a station to whale-fishers in summer.

SPITZBERGEN,

OR the iles of Spitzberg, improperly called by some New Greenland, and East Greenland, appears from the best observations to be an insular system, composed of one great and many smaller islands, all of uncertain dimensions, whose range toward the north is not fully ascertained, but toward the south is limited by the seventy-fifth degree

gree of latitude. The face of the country, more especially in the western parts of the great island, composed mostly of naked rocks, is very rugged and dismal; the coasts high, steep, and often inaccessible, but not without harbors; the mountains numerous, lofty, of a dusky aspect, and pointed summits. Toward the east the aspect is less rough and gloomy; the mountains neither so steep, so sharp at top, nor of so black a hue. From the polar position of this dreary region it is exposed to all the rigors of the arctic zone. Nine months may be assigned to the season of winter, four of which about the brumal solstice form one continued night, the sun in all that time never appearing above the horizon. The falls of snow are inconceivably great, and sometimes, in a less intense prevalence of cold, the rains are incessant. Even in the perpetual day of the short summer the ice and snow remain unthawed in the vallies to a vast depth; the rays of the sun, though the heat is oppressive in a dead calm, being too oblique to operate to the dissolution of those huge masses; while frequently at intervals in the warmest seasons the wind blows sharp, and the waters freeze.

Under an atmosphere so rigorous, a cold so fierce and so little remitting, the land is quite bare and barren, yielding no tree or shrub of even the smallest size, and scarcely any vegetables except a little moss. This furnishes food to a few reindeer, which with some grey foxes appear to be the only terrene quadrupeds of Spitzbergen. Snipes are observed to make their appearance here in summer,
but

but in general the land is almost destitute of animals. It is frequently visited by the white bear, a most fierce and formidable beast of prey, with a body in size equal to that of the ox, a long head like that of a dog, and long hair soft like wool, which pursues its prey on water as well as land, chiefly on the floats of ice which fill this part of the ocean. The productions of this element, particularly the whale, form the only inducement for visiting this inhospitable region, which is quite uninhabited, though not absolutely uninhabitable, since, more than once, men, accidentally abandoned on its shores at the end of summer, have by great exertions contrived to preserve life till the arrival of shipping in the summer following. Dutch and English merchants, more especially the former, have heretofore been principally concerned in the sending of ships to Spitzbergen for the fishery of the whale. This enormous fish is killed by a kind of spear or javelin, called a harpoon, darted into its side from the boats attending the ship, with a line some hundred fathoms fastened to its end, whereby the whale, which dives away with prodigious velocity on feeling the wound, may be found again when it rises to the surface. A single fish is commonly worth two or three hundred pounds, particularly that species which yields the whalebone. This substance grows instead of teeth in the upper jaw in blades or bards, as they are called, standing like the pipes of an organ, and received, when the mouth is shut, into a hollow or kind of sheath in the under jaw. The sovereignty of Spitzbergen is

is claimed by the king of Denmark, though its first discovery is supposed to have been made by Sir Hugh Willoughby, an English navigator, in 1553; and though the subjects of Denmark enjoy less than others the fishery in its neighbourhood, for which alone it can be of any value. Among the numerous islands of inferior size are Charles-isle on the west, and Mauritius, called also Hackluit's Headland, on the norwest.

CHERRY-ISLAND,

SO named from Sir Francis Cherry, an English gentleman, owner of a ship which was supposed to have discovered it, but denominated Bear-island by the Dutch, lies between the coasts of Spitzbergen and Lapland, in a form nearly square, perhaps twenty miles over, desert and barren, but said to be rich in minerals, as lead, virgin silver, and coal.

NOVAYA ZEMBLIA,

CORRUPTLY named by most writers Nova Zembla, parted from the main land of Russia by a shallow channel, called the Strait of Waigatz or Waygate, from four to ninety-five fathoms in depth, consists of two islands of great but unascertained size, divided by a very narrow channel, which from ice and other obstructions appears to be innavigable. In its steep and difficult coasts; its high and rugged face; the piercing cold of a protracted winter; in its barren, bare, and desert surface; and in the species of animals both of the land and ocean which are found in the country and its vicinity, it scarcely differs from Spitzbergen. The coasts of this desolate region were partly explored by Burrough in 1556, and by other navigators, principally Russian, since that time; but whether any vessel has ever sailed round its northeastern extremity we are not informed. Novaya Zembla forms a part of the immense empire of Russia, but is destitute of inhabitants, and seems indeed not habitable. The western parts are occasionally visited by Russians for the purpose of fishing, or of purchasing furs from the Samoyedes, who pass from the main land over the ice into this insular tract to sell the product of their hunting*.

* See Forster's collection of Northern discoveries; Coxe's collection, &c. Also Tooke's Russia, vol. 3. p. 17.

L A P L A N D.

35

L A P L A N D,

LYING between the gulf of Bothnia, the Ocean, Site, and the White-sea, forms on that side the northern extremity of the European continent. Its coasts are washed by the ocean and the White-sea, but it nowhere touches the gulph of Bothnia, being many miles every where parted thence by the Swedish provinces which border that gulf. To the west of that inland sea it advances along the Scandinavian Alps and their declivities, between Norway and the Swedish province of Nordland, as far to the south as the sixty-fourth degree of latitude; but on the east it seems to stretch little farther toward the south than the northern angle of that gulf. It is crossed Face, on the northern side by the huge chain of Scandinavian Alps, which rising here to their greatest altitude assume the name of the frozen mountains, or Alps of snow, as glaciers and perpetual winter invest their tops. This vast curved ridge, which in its whole course through Scandinavia forms nearly the figure of a horse's shoe, occupies no small portion of Lapland. From the main ridge of the Alps the country shelves to the east and south with less elevated mountains and hills interspersed with innumerable fens, lakes, rivers, and forests. The whole is a wild and dreary scene of snow-capped mountains, huge naked rocks, extensive morasses, tracts covered

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with

with white moss which appears like snow in the midst of summer, and vast dusky forests, whose trees enveloped in black moss afford a dead and cheerless aspect; while amid these frightful solitudes some natural beauties appear, which are heightened by contrast with the gloomy scenery around; such are lakes and rivers with foaming cataracts and flowery banks, where wild roses are said to blow of as bright a hue as those which flourish beneath the hand of culture in climates more benign. The lakes and rivers are too numerous and too little known to be particularized. The streams of the latter are obstructed in rocky channels, and form great numbers of cascades or waterfalls. The greatest of the lakes is that of Enarea, which may extend in length a hundred English miles, and like many others, is diversified with a number of islands.

Lakes.

Seasons.

Lapland, like other countries of a polar situation, knows only two seasons, the winter and the summer. The higher parts of the Alps are clothed with perennial snow, and throughout the whole country nothing is to be seen from a little before the end of August to about the middle of May but snow and ice, the snow of enormous depth and drifting with the winds in a most formidable manner. Almost perpetual night invests the skies during many months. The cold, which is all the time intense, increases sometimes by sudden fits to such a pitch, as to bring inevitable destruction to those who happen to be exposed to its fury. Yet the winter of Lapland, frightful as it is, has its portion of delight. The heavens in the night present a scene too glorious

ous for description, meteors of various colors and strange fantastic forms blazing in the sky with such a lustre as is hardly surpassed by the brightness of the full moon. During its contracted summer Lapland enjoys continual day, but this genial season is not without even terrible annoyance. From the almost perpetual presence of the sun the heat becomes vehement in the vallies. Insects without number quicken into life, and rising on the wing in clouds from the marshes and lakes, fill the air. The atmosphere then is hardly fit for respiration. The inhabitants no sooner emerge from their huts than their noses, mouths, and ears are filled with some kinds of flies, while others inflict intolerable pain with their stings. To escape this pest one part of the Laplanders retreat to the mountains, where the air is cool by the vicinity of the glaciers, others to the shores of the ocean or the White-sea, and those who remain keep incessant fires, involving themselves in smoke to repel the flies. Winds are said sometimes to blow with incredible fury, and sometimes in summer to bring from the ocean such dense fogs or clouds as almost to preclude all vision. In winter these hurricanes fill the air with snow, and leave the traveller no other shift for his life than to lie flat on the ground, and suffer himself to be buried under the drift until the storm subsides*.

In the short and active summer of this arctic Products. region the vegetation is extremely rapid, the herbage

* Scheffer's History of Lapland, p. 7. Oxford, 1674.

and leaves of trees coming to full growth in a surprizing short space after the dissolution of the snows. Barley is ripe in eight weeks after its committal to the ground, and rye in less than ten : but excepting a very few small patches in the south sown with corn, chiefly rye and buck-wheat, agriculture is unknown in Lapland. The whole country is an immense wilderness and desert, whose principal vegetable productions are trees and moss. The former, mostly fir, larch, and small beech, form vast, but not very dense forests. Of the latter, which is in great variety, the chief kind, called by botanists lichen rangiferinus, the food of reindeer, is white like snow, occupying many tracts of considerable extent*. With respect to other vegetables, I shall only observe that berries of a pleasant flavor, and of many different kinds, abound in the vast wilds of this rude country, and serve for food to several species of animals, as well as ingredients in that of men.

Animals. The rivers and lakes of Lapland abound in fish, particularly salmon. In summer the multitudes of wild fowl terrene and aquatic, especially the latter, are prodigious and almost incredible ; but most of them particularly the aquatic tribes, migrate to the south when winter, converting all the waters into ice, precludes their subsistence. On the dissolution of the snow they return in great flocks, and find an abundant food in the grubs of the gnats and other insects. The principal terrene fowl are the tetraones or birds of the partridge tribe, which are taken in such numbers as to constitute the chief sustenance of

* Linnei Flora Lapponica, p. 332.

the inhabitants at the end of summer, and also to be exported in large quantities, particularly to Stockholm. Among the quadrupedes are the sable, the ermine, and others of the weasel kind bearing valuable fur; the glutton, a most voracious animal between three and four feet long, which seems also of the weasel kind; the bear, the wolf, the fox, and the lynx. Squirrels are also said to be very numerous, and frequently to commit themselves, perhaps for the sake of migration, to the mercy of the waves on lakes and rivers on pieces of bark, expanding their tails to the wind for sails, and thus to be drowned in great numbers.

The migrations of the squirrels appear quite irregular, probably from an accidental failure of sustenance, as are those of the lemmus, a small quadrupede of the rat kind, whose chief habitation seems to be the great Alpine chain, and whose food is grass, reindeer-moss, and other vegetables, among which it makes its lodgment under the snow, with spiracles, or breathing-holes through it for the communication of air. At uncertain periods they migrate in immense multitudes, commonly toward the south into Norway or Sweden, barking like little dogs, destroying every vegetable in their way like an army of locusts, and pursuing a direct line of march, from which neither water, fire, nor force of any kind can make them deviate, till they perish by hunger, by the jaws of predacious animals which pursue them, or in some great water which terminates their course.

The lemmus.

Reindeer.

Supremely eminent in utility above all the other quadrupeds of Lapland is the reindeer, of which

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we find two sorts, the wild and the tame; the former superior in size and in strength, but far inferior in value, its breed, when domesticated, continuing restive, and not easily manageable. The latter is less in size than the stag, but of a stronger and more vigorous frame. It is admirably adapted to the frozen regions of the north, and signally useful to the hardy tribes who inhabit those rigorous climates, particularly the Laplanders, who surpass all other people in the culture of this excellent animal. Its hair, which at first after shedding is brown, turns afterward grey, and grows so thick, that when it is separated by the hand the skin no where appears uncovered. With its nose which is cased with a hard and thick hide, and with its feet, it digs through the frozen snow to come at the lichen or moss which constitutes its winter's food, and which it discovers by the acuteness of its smell. In summer it subsists on various vegetables, ascending, if at liberty, the lofty Alps, which in that season are its favorite abode. Commonly the males intended for draft are deprived, when young, of the generative power, by which operation they become so large and handsome, that a Laplander compliments his neighbour by calling him an emasculated reindeer*.

These animals are the only cattle of Lapland, whose inhabitants they furnish with many necessities and conveniences of life. Their flesh and milk form the principal part of this people's food; their skins are used for clothing and other purposes; their bones and horns are fabricated into various utensils;

* Tootke, vol. i. p. 12.

their sinews are split into thread for sewing; and the animals themselves while alive serve as horses for draft in winter, and for the carrying of small burthens on the back in summer. The vehicle drawn by the reindeer is called a sledge. It is formed like a boat, excepting the hinder part, which is rounded or flat at the end. It is covered with a hide, the hair outside and pointing backward. This vehicle, generally so small as barely to admit one person to sit in it, is harnessed by a strap, which passing between both the hind and forelegs of the animal, is fastened to a collar or cloth about its neck. The traveller sits in the sledge, holding in his left hand a rein tied on the horns of the beast, and in his right, with which he balances the vehicle, a kind of staff or stick to prevent his vessel from striking against rocks or trees. When the reindeer thus harnessed finds himself on a smooth tract of frozen snow, he commonly rushes forward with a fury which seems to mark his impatience to be rid of his burthen, his feet crackling like the clashing of flints as he runs. The rapidity of his motion has been hyperbolically compared to the flight of a bird by some travellers. He will run thirty English miles without stopping for rest or refreshment, and will draw a man eighty miles in a day; but the latter exertion mostly occasions the death of the creature. In general the swiftness of this animal is by no means so great as has been believed; its ordinary rate of travelling being only four miles an hour. It is never ridden like a horse, its back being too weak to bear a man, or even a saddle without

without fatigue; yet by a pole across this part it carries a small burthen in summer, when the drawing of the sledge is impracticable*.

Com-
merce.

The animals of Lapland furnish its inhabitants with their articles of exportation, which are chiefly the skins and fur of quadrupeds, such as ermines, fables, martins, squirrels, black, white, and variously colored foxes, bears, lynxes, and wolves. The fur, on account of the extreme cold, is of extreme fineness, and bears a high price, insomuch that the balance of trade between the Laplanders and their neighbours is much in favour of the former. Their chief traffic is with the Swedes and Norwegians, especially the latter, from whom they purchase meal, cloth, cutting tools, various utensils, hardware, neats, goats, and sheep*. These kinds of cattle are imported in very small numbers, are milked in summer, and killed at the beginning of winter, none being ever kept in that season as no fodder is ever stored†. The bowels of the earth seem by no means deficient in minerals, particularly the ore of iron, some great masses of which have been discovered and mined in the south by the Swedes, to augment the quantity of that metal which is the basis of their commerce.

Division.

Mines are sunk only in the southern part of the Swedish division of this country, for the vast ridge of Scandinavian Alps parts Lapland into three

* Coxe, Book 7. c. 2.

† Tooke, vol. i. p. 20.

‡ Scheffer, p. 91.

primary divisions, which take their names from the countries on which they border, and to whose monarchs they are subject. The least of these is Norwegian or Danish Lapland, which extends all along the northern side of the huge Alpine ridge and is bounded by the ocean. This division is subject to the king of Denmark, as monarch of Norway, and regards for the seat of its government the small fortress of Wardhuus in an island near the main. In the east is the Russian or Muscovite Lapland, subject to Russia, and bounded by the White-sea, whose immediate seat of government is the small town of Kola on a river of that name, which forms a port at its influx into the ocean. On the south is Swedish Lapland, the greatest and best of the three great divisions, subject to Sweden, and subdivided into the seven Lapmarks of Kiemi, Tornea, Lulea, Pitea, Umea, Angermannia, and Jemptland, which take their names from the territories of Sweden on which they border, and on which they are considered to depend, or from the rivers which hold their course through these and the cognominal Swedish provinces.

To give the dimensions of these divisions is impossible, since no geographical surveys warrant such a statement, nor can the extent of the whole be given with any pretensions to accuracy. The length of Lapland is above seven hundred English miles, its breadth in some parts between three and four hundred, and its area may contain seventy millions of English acres. Its population is thin in the extreme. In all Russian Lapland are counted few

Extent.

Popula-
tion.

more

more than twelve hundred families or six thousand persons *. The Norwegian division can hardly be supposed better peopled ; nor have we good reason to believe that Swedish Lapland, though it contains a few tracts of a better kind, and some cantons more civilized, can boast a much less thin population. No towns are to be found excepting Kola in the Russian division, and a few villages, chiefly in the west where mines have been opened by the Swedes. We might almost hazard a conjecture, from such information as has been received, that the inhabitants of all this extensive region exceed not the number of forty thousand, perhaps fall short of even that amount.

People.

The inhabitants of Lapland, excepting a very few colonists from Norway, Russia, and Sweden, particularly the last on account of mines, are aboriginals of the country distinguished by the name of Laplanders. At what time precisely they came under the dominion of the three powers, to whom they are now subject, we are not informed ; much less can we investigate the earlier events which may have taken place among them. They are doubtless a branch of the Finns described by Tacitus under the name of Fenni, a great original stock whence many modern tribes derive their pedigree. Six centuries ago they bore the denomination of Skride-Finnas, which might signify either wandering Finns, or skating Finns ; and even at this day the Norwegians call their country Finnmark or Finland.

* Tooke, vol. i. p. 5.

“ Their

"Their language is of Finnish origin, and comprehends so many dialects that it is with difficulty they understand each other. They pronounce all the syllables with a hardness which gives their songs a sort of howling or barking sound, which to strangers is very disagreeable*." It is doubtless an ancient language, being varied like the Greek and Latin by declensions and comparisons†. The term *Lap*, which is supposed to have been intended to denote *banished*, as it bears that signification in the Finnish tongue, was not applied to this people nor their country till toward the end of the twelfth century; nor is it in use with the Laplanders themselves, who in their own language are called *same* or *some*, which imports in its meaning the inhabitants of a *fenny* country; whence came the Gothic

* Tooke, vol. i. p. 9.

† Here follow from Scheffer, (p. 78, 79,) the declension of a noun, the comparison of an adjective, and the present tense indicative of a verb.

Immel—God.		
Nom. Immel		Nom. Immeleck
Gen. Immele		Gen. Immeliig
Dat. Immela		Dat. Immewoth
Acc. Immel		Acc. Immeliidh
Voc. O Immel		Voc. O Immæleck
Abl. Immelift		Abl. Immæliie
	Plural.	
		<i>Mun læm</i> , I am
		<i>Tun læck</i> , thou art
		<i>Suu lia</i> , he is
		<i>Mii lap</i> , we are
		<i>Sii læ</i> , you are
		<i>Tack læ</i> , they are

denomination

denomination of *Fenns* or *Finns*, latinized in the word *Fenni*, which was used by Tacitus.

Persons.

The Laplanders are in general of a middle size, or rather below that stature, but not so short as we find them often represented, some few being even six feet in height.* They are commonly lean of body, light, well shaped, active, and vigorous; their legs slender, their features tolerably regular, excepting that the face is mostly flattish, the forehead somewhat prominent, the cheeks fallen, the eyes hollow and often tender or bleared, the nose a little flatted, and the mouth wide. The beard is thin, the eyes of a dark-grey color, the hair brown, and probably darker than its natural hue by their mode of life, as is their complexion which is rendered very swarthy by the asperity of the cold, the want of cleanliness, and the thick smoke of their habitations. Though they are otherwise well-built and strait, they commonly walk in a leaning posture, bending forward a little at the loins, a habit which they contract from their manner of sitting on the ground in their low huts or cabbins.†

Attire.

The garments of the Laplanders are made of the skins and fur of animals, and sometimes also partly of cloth, but they are unacquainted with linen. They are varied with the occasion, one sort being worn in summer, another in winter, one at home, another abroad. The shoes are of rein deer-skin, turning upwards and pointed at the toes, each made

* Scheffer, p. 99.

† Tooke, vol. 1. p. 7. Scheffer, p. 12.

of two pieces sewed together in such manner that the hair, which is left outward, points forward in one piece and backward in the other, in order to prevent slipping, and render the step more firm. The breeches, or trowsers, are of the same stuff, the hair also outward, tight to the limbs, and descending quite to the feet, so as to serve also the purpose of stockings. A kind of cyperus-grass, dried, combed, and rubbed, is placed in such manner as to envelope the feet and legs all over, inside the shoes and trowsers. The gloves are stuffed with the same. This is not only a most powerful preservative against cold in winter, but also prevents the sweating of the feet in summer, and the injuries which might be received by collision against hard bodies in walking or running. On the body is a kind of doublet made to fit the shape, and open at the breast. Over this is a coat of leather or of cloth, ornamented with fur or slips of cloth of various colors, furnished with sleeves, and with skirts which descend to the knees or lower, and girt close to the body by a belt which is decorated with plates, studs, or buttons of silver, tin, or brass, and to which are appended at the belly a knife, and a bag and purse containing instruments for making fire, smoking apparatus, and other necessary or convenient articles. "The caps are edged with fur, pointed at top, and the four seams adorned with lists of a different color from that of the cap. The Russian Laplanders generally use the skins of rats for the borders of their caps." The women wear the same habits with some alterations and additions.

The

The collar of the coat stands higher, and the skirts appear to descend lower. The girdle is broader, and ornamented; not with studs, but wire, or with plates engraved with figures. "They wear kerchiefs, and little aprons of painted cloth, rings on their fingers, and ear-rings, to which they sometimes hang chains of silver which pass two or three times round the neck. They are often dressed in caps folded after the manner of turbans. They wear also caps to the shape of the head, but all are ornamented with the embroidery of brass wire, or at least with lists of different colors."* Ornamental chains are fixed on the girdle in front, which, together with rings and all other trinkets, are said commonly to make a weight of no less than twenty pounds;† a cumbrous decoration we may easily suppose; but such is barbaric vanity!

To enter minutely into the varieties of attire occasionally worn by both sexes is quite unnecessary. Sometimes boots are used, coats of rein deer skin with the hair outward, and caps reaching to the shoulders, inclosing the whole head, with a hole in front for vision. Such caps are useful against the fierce cold of winter, and the persecuting flies of summer. Some caps are made of the skins of birds with the feathers, and sometimes even with the head and wings remaining. An article of female dress is a piece of red or other colored cloth, spangled with studs, hanging from about the neck

* Tooke, vol. i. p. 16, 17.

† Scheffer, p. 87. 90.

down the breast, and terminating below in a point. The most common color of the cloth worn by the Laplanders is grey; sometimes it is red, blue, or green; but never black, for against this they have a remarkable antipathy.

The Laplanders are in general of a peaceful disposition, obedient to their superiors, unpractised in lying or hypocrisy, little or not at all acquainted with theft; yet, at the same time, cheats in commerce, mistrustful or suspicious, and so lazy that necessity alone commonly rouses them to action. They have no small share of national pride, and such a partiality for the place of their nativity, that when they are removed elsewhere, they commonly die of the nostalgia, or longing to return. They are subject to an extreme irritability of the nervous system, particularly the women, who are apt to fall into swooning fits, or even a temporary frenzy, from very slight causes, such as the falling of a spark of fire towards them, or the sudden sight of an uncommon, or unusual object. During these paroxysms of terror they deal blows around with whatever they happen to find, and on recovering from the fit are utterly ignorant of all which had passed. As the same is the case with other tribes who inhabit the like rigorous climes in the north of Asia, this may perhaps be partly the effect of the intense coldness of the air, but it may also be partly occasioned by education, since their imaginations are accustomed to be alarmed with gloomy terrors from their belief in the apparition of spirits and the power of magic. In their familiar conversations

Parturi-
tion.

the hearers are often observed to move their lips exactly in the same manner as the speakers: how far this may arise from habit or sympathetic affections, those, who have made the observation, have not explained. Nor are we informed of the cause of the easy parturition of the Lapland women, who are generally delivered without difficulty, and without the midwife's aid, the husband being the only accoucheur; a necessary practice where the habitations are so distant one from another, as mostly to preclude the assistance of women.* As the excessive rigor of the climate, and the hard manner of living, destroy great numbers in early youth, so that hardly any can arrive at maturity but those who have from nature a robust constitution; how far a vigorous frame of body may account for this facility, which is commonly supposed to have no place in cold regions, men of medical knowledge may perhaps form a judgement.

Diseases.

Their freedom from care, their temperance, their continual exercise, and the elevated situations where they commonly dwell, may contribute much to the strength of their constitution, yet few live to a very advanced age. "Their common diseases are the itch, the pthific and putrid fevers. They are subject to inflammations of the eyes, the effects of snow and smoke. The remedies used are mostly idle charms and superstitious ceremonies. In wounds however they apply the turpentine extracted from the fir; and for the itch they make baths

* Tooke, vol. 1. p. 8. 23.

in which they infuse the bark of the birch. In internal diseases they drink the fresh blood of a wild rein deer. If they feel any part of the body out of order their most usual remedy is fire. In every species of external pain they light mushrooms prepared like touchwood, and burn it on the part affected till the skin cracks and bursts."*

Excepting very few, who in Swedish Lapland inhabit small villages or hamlets, the Laplanders all pursue an erratic life, having no determinate spot of abode, but wandering from place to place as convenience requires. These erratic people are distinguished by the names of hunters and herdsmen, according to the different modes of subsistence which they adopt. The former have generally a few reindeer, sometimes none, and subsist by fishing and hunting. They dwell in winter in the woods, and in summer in the vicinity of lakes, rivers, or the sea. Their instruments of hunting are various, traps, clubs, guns, spears, and blunted arrows. The last are used for squirrels and other small animals of precious fur, that the skin may not be injured. The herdsmen inhabit the woods in winter and the mountains in summer, depending for sustenance on their herds of reindeer, which are more or less numerous. The property of a rich Laplander is from six hundred to a thousand of these animals. They mark them on the ears and divide them into classes, so that they instantly perceive when any of them have strayed, notwithstanding

Mode of
life.

* Tooke, vol. 1. p. 23.

Snow-
shoes.

that they cannot reckon their number. When poverty affails a herdsman by the death of his reindeer by diseases to which they are subject, he commits the remnant of his herd to a friend and becomes a hunter, at least for a time till fortune becomes more propitious.* Both hunters and herdsmen use a kind of skates or snow shoes in winter, the former to overtake wild beasts in the chase, the latter to guard their herds from predacious quadrupedes. These consist each of a very smooth board six or seven feet long, one of the pair longer than the other commonly by a foot, turning upward before, and covered beneath with skin, the hair outward and pointing back, to prevent retrograde sliding in steep ascents. The foot is fastened on the middle of the skate by a withe or strap, and the skater holds in his hand a staff with a round knob on the lower end, with which he pushes himself along the frozen snow with such swiftness, as to overtake any quadrupede, ascending and descending steep mountains with wonderful dexterity.†

Huts.

The habitations of both hunters and herdsmen are temporary hovels built nearly in the form of obtuse cones or pyramids, little more than six feet high. The frame is of poles or slender trunks of trees, set asslant in the ground, and meeting above, where a hole is left to serve the double purpose of chimney and window. The covering is various according to the views or circumstances of the

* Tooke, vol. 1. p. 11. 13.

† Scheffer, p. 99, 100.

owner, briars, birch-bark, linen, turf, coarse cloth, felt, or skins of reindeer. The herdsmen, taking a more extensive range than the hunters, and returning more rarely to the same spot, commonly once only in a year, have less durable huts, and almost destroy them when they remove, carrying away the covering, which is generally of a portable nature, such as felt or cloth. The door is formed of two pieces of felt, which open asunder in the manner of curtains. The fire is placed in the middle of the floor, and over it hangs a kettle or pot suspended by a chain from the top of the hut. The floor is divided into separate apartments by logs or upright sticks placed at small distances, but otherwise the whole hut consists of one room. The floor is covered with branches of trees, and over these are spread skins or pieces of felt, on which the family sit in a squat position, never standing upright in the hut, which is too low to admit that posture. On the same they lie to sleep at night, stripping themselves quite naked, and covering themselves with skins or blankets, which in summer they draw entirely round the head to preclude the access of flies, which would otherwise torment them, suspending however these coverings by ropes fastened to the roof, so as to leave some room for breathing. In winter, beside the coverlets under which they lie, they thrust the feet into a bag stuffed with fur to preserve the heat. As in their frequent migrations to carry with them all their utensils and provisions would be difficult, these are distributed in small storehouses, of which each family has a few, rang-
ed
Store-
houses.

ed at convenient distances in the woods. These repositories are made of boards in the form of pigeon houses, perched on posts, or rather the trunks of trees cut for that purpose at the height of six or eight feet from the ground. The ascent is by a notched stick instead of a ladder, and the entrance a sort of trap door, which opens by being pushed upward, and shuts by its own weight. The Laplanders never plunder the storehouses of their neighbours, though they are left entirely to their mercy; a strong proof of their abstinence from theft! but sometimes the bear breaks them open for the sake of the provisions; on which account the supporting trunks are sometimes stripped of the bark, and anointed with grease, to render them too slippery for the bears or mice to climb*.

Cradle.

“The household furniture of the Laplanders consists of iron or copper kettles, wooden cups very neatly cut, bowls, spoons, and sometimes tin, or even silver basons; to these may be added the implements of fishing and hunting.” One article of furniture which is always brought along with the family is the cradle. This is very small and light, made of wood in form of a weaver’s shuttle. It is suspended in the hut by a rope fastened to the roof, or in fine weather on the branch of a tree, and instead of rocking is swung backwards and forwards. In journies it is carried on the back of the mother. The infant, quite naked as to clothes, lies in this

* Tooke, vol. 1, p. 14, 16. Scheffer, p. 83, 86, 90.

vehicle on a kind of red moss, and is covered with a piece of fur fastened to the cradle by a string*.

Little furniture is used for their accommodation at meals. Every Laplander carries about him a knife, a spoon, and a little cup for drinking. The dishes containing the food are placed on a mat spread on the floor, around which men and women sit squat promiscuously, and to each is divided a separate portion, that none may be injured by the voracity of others. Their food is various. In the Food. beginning of summer it consists chiefly of the eggs of water-fowl; in the rest of that season birds of various kinds; and in winter dried fish, flesh, reindeer's milk and cheese. They eat every kind of fish which they can take, and all sorts of wild animals, not excepting birds of prey and carnivorous quadrupedes, but the flesh of the bear is their most delicate meat. Flesh and fish dried for preservation in the open air are eaten raw without any kind of dressing; but fresh meat receives a moderate, or rather slight boiling. The most common flesh is that of the reindeer, of whose blood also they make puddings by putting it alone, or mixed with berries, into the stomach of the same animal, and boiling it to the requisite consistence. Fish boiled, boned, mixed with berries, and pounded into a mash, is eaten with spoons. Berries of several sorts, particularly a red kind, which are probably cranberries, are much used, not only mixed thus with animal food, but prepared in other ways, and

* Tooke, vol. 1, p. 15, 24. Scheffer, p. 123.

are preserved for store, like other provisions, by the intense cold. Part of the frozen store is milk, poured into the stomach of a reindeer, congealed into a solid mass by the cold, and occasionally chopped with a hatchet when a piece is required for use. A sort of sweet milk, curdled by means of the herb sanicle, and retaining all its cream, is one of the greatest dainties of a Laplander. A kind of soup is made of a species of cheese which is of so unctuous or fat a nature as to take fire on the application of a candle. Until lately, when bread was introduced into Swedish Lapland, its use was unknown. Some flour and meal is imported and made into stirabout or gruel. The seasoning of their food is the fat of sea-dogs and salt, if they can procure it, or instead thereof the inner bark of the pine, dried and prepared by a long process. Their drink is water, often swallowed warm from the kettle in winter, water mingled with milk, whey, broth of flesh or fish, and spirituous liquor when procurable, but luckily for them this is scarce*.

Government.

The hunting of the Laplanders not only furnishes them with much of their food and clothes, but also the means of paying their tributes to the sovereigns to whom they are respectively subject. These tributes paid in furs or money are light, inasmuch that, though by rambling from place to place some pay tribute to two sovereigns, or even to all the three, in one year, hardly any dispute ever happens on this account. They have no order of

* Tooke, vol. 1, p. 17, 20. Scheffer, p. 91, 93. Cox, book 7, c. 2.

nobility

nobility among them, nor any other distinction of ranks than the superiority of age or property. The desire of procuring the latter is said to be their predominant passion. Beyond their tributes and the respect of superiors, they seem to have little idea of government, but live in harmony without the coercive interposition of the magistrate, preserved in the blessings of liberty by the horrors of their climate, their nomadic mode of life, and the savage nature of their country.

Excepting some under the Russian government, Religion. who are still Pagans, the Laplanders have been baptized and are become Christians of the Lutheran church in the Swedish and Danish divisions, of the Greek in the Russian territories. For the performance of divine service eight churches are maintained in Swedish Lapland. The religion however of the baptized Laplanders is only a compound of Christian and Pagan ceremonies. They still retain most of their Pagan superstitions, and many hold in belief the ancient system of polytheism, in which was acknowledged a supreme God, under whom were supposed many subordinate deities, benevolent and malignant, male and female. Several mountains, lakes, and rivers are held sacred, as the immediate habitations of certain divinities, and must not be approached without reverential awe, and the performance of solemn rites. On Saturday, the old Pagan sabbath of the Laplanders, accounted still holy, they bathe in the rivers in summer, the two sexes often promiscuously.

Among

Supersti-
tion.

Among the superstitious practices of the Laplanders, too numerous and unimportant to be enumerated here, is that of consulting certain impostors, reputed magicians, for the direction of their conduct, and their information in matters of the highest concern. " To this end the magician makes use of his magical drum, which is a box of an oval shape, covered at one side with a skin, and furnished on the other with several strings and pieces of iron to rattle and make a noise. Strange figures intended to represent the heavenly bodies, beasts, and birds, with many other characters, are drawn on the skin. The forcerer puts a ring upon his drum, and beats on it with his drumstick, which is made of the mossy horn of the reindeer, and according to the figure on which the vibration of the skin causes the ring to fall, he answers all questions concerning former or future events. At the same time he invokes the spirits to assist his drum, and during this mummary falls into a fit, during which his soul is supposed to be with the spirits of the air, hearing their converse and learning the decrees of heaven. It is not at all surprising that people of such principles should be fertile in visions, apparitions, and childish tales ; and so the Laplanders are to a degree. They never mention the bear by his name, but call him *the old one with the fur cloak*. They imagine that their magicians possess the power of controlling the winds and the rain, of producing and destroying insects, of speaking to spirits, and a thousand other fooleries. But they believe at the same time that thunder is inimical to the magicians, and

and hence their proverb—*If it were not for thunder the world would be destroyed by magic.* They attribute singular effects to certain words and phrases, and scarcely undertake any thing without a previous charm *.

As true religion promotes comfort and utility, so the effects of superstition are of a different kind. Of its evils among the Laplanders I shall only notice two or three. By their dependence on charms and magic for the cure of diseases, these often become inveterate and mortal. As a reindeer, which has drawn a dead body, must never afterwards be used, the interment even of a parent frequently occasions a tedious dispute among the children. The balance of trade is so much in their favor that considerable sums of money are brought into their country; but so much of this as is not immediately required for use is hidden in the earth, together with their plate and other most valuable effects; and as they believe that these are of use in the other world, they disclose not the place of concealment even at the point of death, by which means the best part of their property is lost to their families. Women are considered as in some degree impure: to approach the consecrated places, or make any offering to the Pagan deities, would be a crime in them: they must not touch the hunting weapons, nor even the beasts brought home from the chase, until they are prepared for food: to meet them in going on any business of moment would be omi-

* Tooke, vol. 1, p. 30, 31, 33.

nous : on this account a back-door in the hut is appropriated to the men, particularly for hunting excursions, through which no woman is on any account allowed to pass.

Arts.

Such a grossness of superstition is a proof of extreme ignorance and barbarism. The Laplanders accordingly, except a few more civilized in fixed habitations in the Swedish division, are quite unacquainted with the use of letters ; but they have a kind of hieroglyphics which they use in their rounes, a sort of sticks which serve them for an almanack. These hieroglyphics serve also as marks or signatures in matters of law for the ratification of bargains even among the less barbarous societies of this people. The Laplanders name the months from the productions of nature in the animal and vegetable kingdoms : for example, the call May the month of frogs. They have an ingenious manner of distinguishing in language the constellations of the heavens : thus they name the Great Bear the Bow, the Pleiades the Cattle's Heart, and a comet a star with a tail. Among them, as in nations acquainted with literature, yet not enlightened, some follow the vain study of astrology, and pretend to prophesy. Their handicraft arts are few and simple. Each family commonly manufactures its own implements, but the works of the males and females are distinct. The former make the canoes, sledges, baskets of roots of trees worked so closely sometimes as to hold water like a metal or earthen vessel, all sorts of utensils in wood, such as cups and bowls, which are sometimes prettily carved, some-
times

times ornamented with bones, brass, or horn. The women make fishing-nets, thread from reindeers nerves, and wire by the help of reindeers horns pierced, instead of a drawing iron. The wire is at first round, but afterwards flatted. They embroider their clothes with brass-wire, silver, sham gold, or wool, which they have the art of dying in all sorts of colors.

Of the art of war the Laplanders are quite ignorant, and as it has never been found practicable to convert them into soldiers, they have on this account been reputed cowardly. But this undoubtedly arises from their habits of life, which disqualify them for military discipline, and for every other mode of living than that to which they have been accustomed. In other respects they are courageous, braving the fury of the tempestuous ocean in their little boats with amazing intrepidity, or skaiting along the edges of tremendous precipices in such a manner, that the very sight of the action might make the bravest soldier tremble, who is unacquainted with such feats.

Aversion
to war.

Under the heads already considered a sketch has been partly given of Lapponic manners, and in addition a few miscellaneous observations on this subject may suffice. Like uncivilized people in general, without a regular supply of food afforded by agriculture and settled commerce, they are gluttonous when they have opportunity, and sustain hunger a long time. They differ from most nations in the œconomy of the kitchen, for the men are cooks, and the women are mostly excluded from culinary

Manners.

culinary works. The men are very jealous; a strong mark of barbarism! yet the women are chaste. The first cordial given to a woman in a puerperal state, or after her delivery, is said to be a draft of train-oil procured from Norway. The new-born infant is said to be first rolled in snow, or immersed in cold water, then dipped in warm water, and lastly wrapped in a hare's skin, or some other fur. The mother is regarded as impure for six weeks after her delivery. She suckles the child two, three, or four years, and from this and other causes has very few children, never, it is said, more than eight, and seldom more than three *. Before and after meals the Laplander makes a short prayer, and at the end of the feast each gives the other his hand. "In their visits also they give the hand, and kiss, saying at the same time *Buerifs*, or, as others pronounce it, *Puerefs*—I salute thee. The chief place of distinction is between the master and mistress of the hut. They entertain their guests with fruits and tobacco; when they smoke, they spit in the hand, and snuff the spittle up the nose. When they pay a visit to any person of note, or superior distinction, they carry him presents. In taking leave they use the same ceremony as at their entrance †.

When a son is born the father presents him "with a female reindeer, on which he makes some distinctive mark. This mark becomes afterwards

* Scheffer, p. 120, 123.

† Tooke, vol. 1, p. 21.

the proper and peculiar signature of the new citizen; and all the produce of this female reindeer is the unalienable property of the child, and makes no part of the family possession. On the child's cutting its first tooth, the father, if he be in easy circumstances, gives him a second reindeer. The Laplanders bury their dead in coffins, in some cantons with their clothes on, in others quite naked. The Pagan Laplanders inter their most famous hunters near the places consecrated to sacrifice. Formerly their custom was to throw the body into the ground naked, and without ceremony, afterwards to surround the spot with stones, and to pile others upon it. They generally place a sledge with its bottom upward on the grave, and lay some eatables and pieces of furniture near it. Even the baptized Laplanders practise this privately. The rich give some little refreshment to the funeral attendants, but this custom is not observed by the generality of the people.

The fancy of the parents directs the marriages of the children, in which they have no other view but interest. Hence the most contemptible woman may make a good match, if she possess but some property. A young man is not permitted to marry until he be able to take and kill a reindeer. In some provinces they manage the contract of marriage with all the formality of a bargain, although the pretensions on both sides frequently rise very high on the first proposal. They reckon severally whatever the young man is to give in order to obtain his fair-one, which most commonly consists of reindeer

reindeer or different kinds of skins. The wedding is kept at the bride's house, who is dressed in her best manner, and appears before the guests with her head quite uncovered, which at other times is never the custom with women or maidens. The feast is a kind of mess to which each of the guests brings meat and drink. Their diversion at weddings and other merry meetings is the game of goose, a sort of drafts with thirteen men, twelve representing geese, and the thirteenth a fox. They wrestle and jump over a stick horizontally; and are fond of giving grotesque accounts of different adventures. They likewise dance and sing, or rather howl in disagreeable measures. The new-married people live with the woman's relations the first year, at the end of which they retire to their own hut *." Courtship is said to be often very tedious, and the suitor obliged in his visits to make presents to the parents and relations of the object of his suit, which are refunded with additions after his marriage, and his year's residence with his bride's parents †.

Songs.

In their journeys to their mistresses, which are often very long, in a country so extremely thin of inhabitants, the Lapland lovers endeavour to beguile the tedium of the way by songs. These, it seems, may be sung each with a variety of tunes and in various manners, according to the taste and inclination of the singer. In the history of Lapland by Scheffer ‡ two Lapponic songs are given in

* Tooke, vol. 1, p. 24, 27.

† Scheffer, p. 110, 119.

‡ Page 112, 115.

the original tongue with translations, which are modified into a more elegant English form in numbers 366 and 406 of the Spectator. I here copy one of these, as also the translation in blank verse of a hunting poem given in Tooke's Russia *.

Haste, my reindeer, and let us nimbly go
Our am'rous journey through this dreary waste :
Haste, my reindeer, still still thou art too slow,
Impetuous Love demands the lightning's haste.

Around us far the rushy moors are spread,
Soon will the sun withdraw his chearful ray ;
Darkling and tired we shall the marshes tread,
No lay unsung to cheat the tedious way.

The watery length of these unjoyous moors
Does all the flowery meadow's pride excell :
Through these I fly to her my soul adores ;
Ye flowery meadows, empty pride, farewell.

Each moment from the charmer I'm confin'd,
My breast is tortur'd with impatient fires ;
Fly, my reindeer, fly swifter than the wind,
Thy tardy feet wing with my fierce desires.

Our pleasing toil will then be soon o'erpaid,
And thou in wonder lost shalt view my fair,
Admire each feature of the lovely maid,
Her artless charms, her bloom, her sprightly air.

But lo ! with graceful motion there she swims,
Gently removing each ambitious wave,
The crouding waves transported clasp her limbs ;
When, when, oh when shall I such freedom have !

* Vol. I, p. 50, 51.

In vain, ye envious streams, so fast you flow,
 To hide her from a lover's ardent gaze;
 From every touch you more transparent grow,
 And all reveal'd the beauteous wanton plays.

Beast of all forest-beasts revered, subdued, and slain,
 Health to our huts, and prey a hundred fold
 Restore, and o'er us keep a constant guard!
 I thank the gods who gave such noble prey!
 When the great day-star hides behind the Alps,
 I hie me home; and joy, all clad in flowers,
 For three long nights shall reign throughout my hut.
 With transport shall I climb the mountain's side.
 Joy oped this day; joy shall attend its close.
 Thee I revere, from thee expect my prey;
 Nor e'er forget my carrol to the bear.

N O R W A Y,

- Site. EXTENDING between the Swedish dominions and the ocean in vast length, but with a disproportioned and irregularly decreasing breadth, from the Scaggerac sea or entrance of the Baltic to the most northern point of the Scandinavian continent, presents to the oceanic mariner a dangerous coast, in a few places low and level, but in general high, rocky, steep, deeply indented with innumerable narrow inlets, and bordered with long chains of islands, rocky islets, and rocks, which form a number of harbors,
- Coast.

N O R W A Y.

harbors, break the formidable billows of the stormy ocean, and leave in many places between them and the main land a tranquil and smooth water for the navigation of boats or small vessels. At many parts of the shore and the chains of islands a huge depth of water of two hundred, or even four hundred fathoms, precludes all anchorage, on which account rings of iron are in several places fixed in the sides of the rocks, to which vessels may be moored, or tied by their cables. In the channels of the islands the various currents form eddies and whirlpools, particularly the dreaded vortex of Maelstrom, which will be noticed under the article of Norwegian islands. At various distances from the coast, distances of from fifteen to fifty and near seventy miles, are submarine banks, shoals, or shallows, stretching in the ocean from south to north, the productive haunts of fish and fishermen. Of the numerous gulfs, or branching inlets, by which the bold coast of Norway is so jagged or ferrated, some, though not above a hundred or two hundred yards broad, have a depth of water of three or four hundred fathoms; some penetrate above sixty miles into the land, as those of Sogne and Drontheim; and some farther toward the north advance to the foot of the Scandinavian Alps, which form the vast barrier of this long and narrow region.

The western arm of the vast incurvated ridge of mountains, which has been denominated the Scandinavian Alps *, fills the eastern side of Norway

* Vol. 1. of this Work, p. 25.

from its most northern tract as far to the south as a little below the sixty-third degree of latitude, whence it proceeds through the middle parts of south Norway, but nearer the ocean, terminating southward toward the Naz, or Cape-Lindes, the most southern point of the Norwegian coast. Thus Norway, to the north of the above named latitude, consists of a vast ridge and an irregular broken slope descending to the ocean, and to the south of that latitude, of a continuation of the same great ridge and two slopes, both of them irregular and mountainous, the one shelving northward and westward to the ocean, the other eastward and southward to the frontiers of Sweden and the Scaggerac.

Moun-
tains.

The vast Alpine ridge, which gives to Norway the grand feature of its contour, winds toward the south and southwest under various names, as those of Dovre, Lang, Sogne, Fille, and Hardanger, rising into the region of perpetual snow, particularly in Dovre-field, or Dovre-mountain, which is considered as the highest part of the Norwegian chain, and spreading with its base to the breadth of forty, fifty, and near seventy English miles. As great part of Norway is occupied by this great ridge, so the rest of its surface is uneven and rugged with insulated mountains. Of these a range, not a chain, is formed of vast length, extending from the southern coast toward the north between the Alpine ridge and the ocean, and adapting its curvatures to the flexures of the shore. They are separated one from another by vallies of land or channels of water, and
among

among them are observed a variety of fantastic forms, which in the sport of nature they have assumed. Thus one strikes the eye with the semblance of a fortress with walls and bastions ; another with that of a city with Gothic towers and other old edifices ; one in Helgeland, a district of Nordland, near Alstahoug, has a quite singular appearance with seven very elevated points, called the seven sisters, visible on sea at the distance of fifty miles ; and in the same district is Torg-Hallen, whose summit has been imagined to resemble a cyclops, or giant with only one eye, with a hat on his head ; a vast pervious aperture, a hundred yards high and above two thousand in length, along which a road lies, furnishing the fancy with an eye for the supposed face *. This extraordinary aperture is the only instance which I think expedient to give of the many great caverns of Norway, which are found both in the insulated mountains and in the Alpine chain. None of the insulated kind appear to have so great an elevation as those of the ridge, as the summits of the former are commonly covered with wood or pasturage ; but no accounts have been given of the heights of either class on which we can rely.

Norway, as may naturally be expected from its numerous high mountains and great inequality of surface, is most abundantly furnished with lakes and rivers of various magnitude. Their water is clear and salubrious, but the rivers are subject to

Lakes and
Rivers.

* Busching, Geog. Univ. Hays 1768, tom. 1, p. 355.

sudden floods, and the immense bed of rock, which forms the basis of this country, renders them innavigable, excepting by boats, and even by these not without frequent interruptions; the channels being obstructed, and the streams often falling in rapids, cascades, or cataracts of twenty, sixty, or a hundred feet in altitude. These violent streams are mostly crossed by bridges, not of stone but of wood, and floating frames of timber. In some of the lakes are seen floating islands, sixty or eighty feet in diameter, covered with shrubs and grass, and supposed to have been originally fragments loosened from the shores. Among the principal rivers of Norway, and one which has the longest current, is the Glomme, which, from its original source in the great Alpine chain, near the sixty-third degree of latitude and the borders of Sweden, to its influx into the bay of Swinesund, runs a course of above four hundred English miles, making many falls or cascades in its passage, and forming the lake Ojeren twenty-three miles in length. This lake is of small size in comparison of others, many being so large as to appear like inlets of the sea. Among these is the lake of Mioss filled by an auxiliary stream of the Glomme, sixty miles in length, but, excepting in one part, narrow in proportion, and, to omit many other great basins of water, the Rands-Sion, near the Mioss, is remarkable, almost fifty miles long, but hardly above two broad, embosomed in mountains, and fringed with wood*.

* Coxe's Travels in the northern parts of Europe, vol. v. p. 245. London, 1791.

In a country which extends through so many degrees of latitude, rises to such a variety of elevations, and presents so many different aspects to the solar beams, the temperature and seasons must greatly vary. In some of the vallies the heat of the long days of summer is so concentrated that barley ripens in nine, or even seven weeks after it is sown. In others the same operation of nature requires twelve, sixteen, or even eighteen weeks. The last has place in maritime tracts, where the heat of summer is less forcible, but the mild weather of longer duration: for in Norway is conspicuously seen how much the temperature of the air is influenced by the vicinity of the ocean. The eastern parts, which are screened by the mountains from oceanic vapors, are far colder than the western situate in the same latitudes; but enjoy a drier and more salubrious air, a clearer sky, and more settled weather. In the south of Norway winter reigns in the eastern territories with great severity for six months, from about the middle of October to the middle of April, the earth buried in frost and deep snow; while in the western parts, lying between the same parallels, but exposed to the exhalations of the ocean, the frost seldom continues above two or three weeks, the harbors are always open, and the cold is more moderate than in the middle parts of Germany and Poland, which are placed above six hundred miles farther to the south: but this mildness is balanced by the fogs and rains, by which the coasts are much incommoded. As all the north of Norway is only, with exception of the mountains,

tains, a narrow coast, weather of this kind prevails, doubtless however with augmenting cold, toward the north, throughout this region.

In the eastern side of the south of Norway, "according to a series of meteorological observations taken by Mr. Wilse, pastor of Sydeborg," on the coast of the Scaggerac, almost in the fifty-ninth degree of latitude, "it snows most in December and the middle of January. It rains most in April, October, and August. The clearest weather is from the middle of June to the middle of July, and during the whole month of March. Winds are most violent in the middle and end of April, May, and October. The stillest season is in January; from the tenth of June to the eleventh of July, and in the middle of August, a circumstance very profitable to the oat harvest, which of all corn is most subject to cast its ripe grain in windy weather. If we compare the climate of Norway with that of London, March at London is April and the beginning of May in Norway; and the March of Norway is our January. On account of the frequent spring frosts, seeds ought not to be sown in gardens before the twentieth of May; and the frosts of the end of August are not less detrimental." The difference between the greatest heat and greatest cold in the same place amounts to not less than a hundred and ten degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer; the mercury in this instrument sometimes rising in summer to eighty-eight degrees, and falling in winter fifty-four below the freezing point. At Kongsberg, not a degree of latitude farther to the north, it has
fallen

fallen seventy-two degrees below the same point, a pitch of cold by which quicksilver is congealed *. Productions.

“ Tillage cannot generally be very flourishing in a country, which is in many parts so rocky as to defy the plough ; where the climate is so severe that the hoar-frosts begin in September, and where the cold in the high lands prevents the maturity of the corn. It is true indeed that the small vallies, and the intervals between the rocks, are usually provided with a fruitful soil, and that the industry of the peasants covers the naked rocks and the sandy grounds with a new earth : yet the arable grounds are few, and no parts of Norway yield sufficient corn for interior consumption, the districts of Hedemark, Toten, and Ringerike excepted,” which make part of the diocese of Christiania or Aggerhuus in the south-east. “ This deficiency is occasioned by the nature of the climate and soil. In the spring and in the first summer months the drought and heat are frequently so intolerable, and the vegetable mold so thin, that the roots of the corn and grass are burned up, if a few days of sunshine succeed each other without rain. Also the greatest part of the soil is so much blended with sand, that too much rain cannot fall in spring and summer. In autumn on the contrary the decreased warmth, and the great quantity of rain, prevents the corn from ripening, and it is frequently cut green. Not unusually when a favorable season has ripened the corn, the frequent and violent autumnal rains hinder the carrying of

* Coxe, vol. v. p. 198, 199.

it in until it is almost spoiled. Also the small quantity of arable land seldom lies fallow, but is sown every year, and therefore requires more manure than can be usually procured. In order to dry the corn exposed to the heavy rains, the peasants fix forked poles about ten feet high, place rows of other poles transversely, on which they fill the sheaves, the lowest row hanging about two feet from the ground. They are also frequently obliged to bake the corn in wooden sheds heated by means of stoves.

As Norway produces not sufficient corn for its own consumption, Denmark enjoys the exclusive privilege of supplying with grain the part called Sudenfields, comprehending the two governments of Aggerhuus and Christianland. This monopoly frequently occasions a scarcity of corn. In unfavorable harvests the utmost dearth is experienced in all the inland parts as the transport from the coasts is highly expensive. But Norway, however deficient in arable land, is rich in pasture, and produces much cattle. The mode of keeping the cows is similar to that which is practised in the mountains of Switzerland. About the middle of May they are driven to the meadows; toward the middle of June are sent to pasture on the heights, or in the midst of the forests, where they continue till autumn. The cows are usually tended by a woman, who inhabits a small hut, milks them twice a day, and makes butter and cheese on the spot. On their return the cattle are pastured in the meadows till the snow sets in about the middle of October, when they

they are removed to the stables, and fed during winter with four-fifths of straw and one-fifth of hay. The horses are usually foddered with hay during winter, and are seldom pastured before the beginning of June. In some places also the cattle are fed with salted fish and the livers of fish. Swine fatten on the bark of pine dried, ground, mixed with meal, and boiled with other food. The cattle are small, but strong, hardy, and active, particularly the horses. The mean price of a cow giving milk is about thirty shillings of English money, that of a bullock little more than forty, and that of a lively horse about six pounds.* The sheep, of which a considerable proportion are covered with black wool, are not very numerous, are subject to be devoured by bears, wolves, and lynxes, which harbor in the forests, and to fall into precipitous gorges, whence they can be recovered only by the dangerous, and sometimes fatal operation of a man, who descends by the help of others on a wooden cross tied to a long rope, binds the animal to the same, and is drawn up together with it to the top of the precipice. The sheep are guarded by large dogs armed with spiked collars on their necks.

The principal production of the Norwegian soil is wood, particularly fir or pine, which, notwithstanding its vast consumption, not only by exportation and various uses, but also by the burning of whole tracts of forest to reclaim the land, still covers a great proportion of the country. The fir

* Coxe, vol. 5. p. 199—204. 246, 247.

of Norway is in high estimation, being firmer, more compact, and less liable to rot than that of most other countries; the cause of which is supposed to be its growth on the rocks, instead of a deep soil. Its wood is red or white: the former is the timber of what is called the Scottish fir, the latter is that of the spruce. A growth of seventy or eighty years is requisite for the perfection of the timber.* Much wood is made into charcoal for the smelting of metals, for these, particularly copper and iron, are accounted, next after timber, the chief product of Norway. The number of miners has been stated at eight thousand. The principal mine of copper is that of Koraas in the diocese of Drontheim, which is said to yield near seventy thousand pounds value annually. The mines of Jarlsberg and Kongsberg in Aggerhuus yield silver, but hardly in sufficient quantity to defray the expence. The latter, which have been sunk in one place to six hundred and fifty feet of perpendicular depth, and have been formerly more productive than at present, furnish little more than the value of fifty thousand pounds sterling yearly, and give employment to about two thousand five hundred workmen. Sometimes, but extremely seldom, masses of pure silver of a considerable size have been found in these mines, particularly one which is worth six hundred pounds, and is deposited in the cabinet of curiosities at Copenhagen.†

* Coxe, vol. 5. p. 226, 227.

† Coxe, vol. 5. p. 234, 235.

The fisheries of Norway are more valuable than its mines, and furnish employment to the inhabitants of the western coast, particularly the northern parts, where fishing constitutes almost the whole occupation. The product of the fisheries was formerly rated at four hundred thousand pounds sterling annually,* but the fishery of herrings is now less productive than at the time of this computation. Mackerel might be taken in much greater quantities than they are, "if many of the Norwegians were not prejudiced against the eating of them, from a strange notion, that shoals of mackerel often attack and devour the human species when bathing in the sea."† Among the fish procured from fresh water are salmon, which ascend the rivers in great numbers in spring, and are cured by salting and smoking.

Fish constitute no small part of the food of the Food. Norwegians, and their bread is mostly made of oat-meal; oats being the principal corn of the country, though rye and barley are also cultivated. Potatoes have been lately introduced, but the summer is too short to bring them to perfection. Coffee, wheaten bread, and such other articles as are in use with the gentry of Britain, are enjoyed by people of easier circumstances; but "the common food of the peasant is milk, cheese, dried or salted fish, and sometimes, but rarely, flesh or dried meat, oat-bread called *flad-brod*, baked in

* Pontoppidan's Nat. Hist. of Norway.

† Coxce, vol. 5. p. 204.

small cakes about the size and thickness of a pancake. It is usually baked twice a year; a sufficient quantity for the consumption of each family being made at one time and repositied for use. The operation of baking is quick: the dough is spread by a rolling-pin into a round cake, placed on a hot griddle, or round iron plate, and, when sufficiently roasted on one side, is turned by a small stick on the other. It is said that an expert and active woman can bake as much of this bread in one day as is consumed by a family in a year. "The peasants also in times of scarcity mix the bark of trees, usually of the fir-tree, with their oat-meal: they dry this bark before the fire, grind it to powder, and, when baked with a mixture of meal, eat it like bread: it is bitterish and affords little nourishment. As a luxury they eat *sharke*, or thin slices of meat, sprinkled with salt, and dried in the wind like hung beef; also a soup made like hasty pudding of oat-meal or barley-meal; and, in order to render it more palatable, they put in it a pickled herring or salted mackerel." Among their liquors is birch-wine, or the sap of the birch tree, which ex-tills from a hole bored in the trunk, into a flask placed for the purpose.

Com-
merce.

The chief exports of Norway are tar, turpentine, timber, fish, tallow, butter, horses, neats, copper, iron, and some peltry, as the skins of bears, lynxes, wolves, and several kinds of foxes. The annual value of the timber exported is estimated at two

* Coxe, vol. 5. p. 196, 197.

hundred thousand pounds. It is commonly drawn on the frost to the banks of rivers, and conveyed by floating on their streams to the ports, particularly those of Christiania and Drontheim. The fish which are chiefly dried and salted for exportation, are the cod, the ling, and the whiting. The exports of Norway in the year 1768 were stated at above seventeen hundred thousand pounds sterling, and the imports at less than twelve hundred and forty thousand; which leads to the supposition of a large balance in favor of this country; yet the cash is drawn from it, doubtless by government, in such manner that specie, or metal money, is extremely scarce.

The value above given of exports and imports is ill proportioned to the extent of Norway, but not to the population of this wild country. Its breadth in the south is above two hundred English miles; but it narrows irregularly toward the north, where in some parts it is a hundred and in others hardly thirty miles wide. Its length from south to north is reckoned to be nine hundred and sixty miles, but under this extent is comprehended part of the coast of Lapland. Under the same comprehension its area may contain seventy millions of English, or forty-three millions of Irish acres, and is stated by good authority as much greater than this space; but how much ought to be deducted for Norwegian Lapland we cannot pretend to estimate from any maps or observations hitherto published. This great extent of country is divided by nature into two parts, the northern and southern, parted by the intrusion

Extent.

Division.

intrusion of the small Swedish province of Hern-dahl. The northern, politically comprehended under the government of Drontheim, is divided into the two provinces of Nordland and Finnmark, of which the latter belongs to Lapland. The southern, called Norway-proper, is distinguished into the four governments, or dioceses, of Aggerhuus, or Christiania, Christiansand, Bergen, and Drontheim. Norway-proper is also divided by nature into two parts, Sondenfields and Nordenfields: the latter, lying on the north and west of the great Alpine ridge, contains Drontheim and Bergen; the former, on the south and east, comprehends Christiania and Christiansand.

Popula-
tion.

In all Norway, notwithstanding its vast area, the inhabitants exceed not seven hundred and fifty thousand. As Nordland is extremely ill peopled, almost all this number is contained in southern or proper Norway. Their habitations are scattered with great inequality, some vallies being very populous, and many extensive tracts totally desert.

Houses.

Their houses are mostly built of wood, notwithstanding the abundance of stone: many are covered with yellow tiles, but the cottages generally with the bark of the birch tree, which is found to be the most durable sort of thatch. The inhabitants being very few in proportion to the extent of their country are unable to keep in sufficient repair the roads, which are on this account in general very bad in Norway.

Roads.

In the northern parts they are almost entirely made of wood. Elsewhere they are extremely rough and stony. Some parts of those which cross the

the great mountains are said to be so narrow and so situate, that if two horsemen should meet in opposite directions, the only mode by which they could be preserved from destruction must be that one of them clinging to a rock, and precipitating his horse from the side of the mountain, should retain firmly his hold till the other had passed him.

Excepting the greater abundance of wood in Face, Norway, which over-runs the country in an immense and almost continued forest, the inferiority of its population and improvement by art and industry, and the difference of its contour, which in South-Norway is the opposite of that of Switzerland, the face of the former bears a most striking resemblance to that of the latter country, displaying the same kind of delightfully diversified and ever varying scenery of smooth glassy lakes, meandering rivers, and roaring cataracts, luxuriant woods and naked rocks, soft smiling vallies and stupendous mountains, vast tracts of glaciers and perennial snow skirted by deep dusky forests of pine, which in such cold regions assumes a darker hue.* Here also as in Switzerland, to omit other phenomena, the snowy summits of the alpine chain, illumined by the refracted rays of the setting sun, appear like a vast extended sheet of glittering gold, or a line of fire skirting the horizon.† But, though in the varied landscapes of this rude country mild beauties have a place, the wild, the terrific, and

* See the account of Switzerland in the first volume of this work.

† Coxe, vol. v. 222, 245, &c.

horribly sublime predominate. The strange fantastic shapes of some of the Norwegian mountains, the summits of many stupendously high and ever white with snow, their sides glistening with glaciers, broken into horrid precipices, hollowed with frightful caverns, shaded with gloomy forests, or furrowed with furious torrents, which dash with deafening sound from the rocky steep, form an awful variety of picturesque and gigantic scenes.

Towns.

**Christia-
nia.**

The towns of Norway, only eighteen in number, mostly of small size, and in great part built of wood, add very little to the scenery of the country in general. Christiania, as containing the supreme court of justice, is accounted the capital. It stands at the distance of about thirty English miles from the open sea, in a semicircular form, in a large beautiful vale, on the northern extremity of the bay of Biorning, or the inmost part of the gulf of Christiania, which is of somewhat difficult navigation, but deep enough for the largest vessels, having water of six or seven fathoms at the quay. It consists of the city and suburbs, the castle of Aggerhuus, and the old town of Opsloe, or Ansloe, containing in all about fifteen hundred houses, and nine thousand inhabitants. The castle, small, but strong, is built on a rocky eminence on the west side of the bay, near the city; the streets some of which are straight, cut one another at right angles, are uniformly forty feet wide, very neat and clean.*

**Kongf-
berg.**

Another town of the diocese of Christiania is

* Cox, vol. v. p. 222, 226.

Kongsberg,

Kongiberg, famous for its silver mines, containing about six thousand inhabitants, situate in a wild and rugged scenery, "on both sides of the river Lowe, which in its course through the town falls in a series of small but picturesque cataracts over the bare rocks."* Far the greatest and most commercial town of Norway is Bergen, inhabited by eighteen or twenty thousand persons, extending in form of a semicircle on an inlet which forms its harbor, fortified by nature on the side of the land with seven steep hills or mountains, whose passes are so narrow as to be easily guarded against all access, and on the side of the sea by several artificial fortifications. Of the rest of the towns of Norway I shall mention only Drontheim, which is capital of its diocese or province, contains about eight thousand inhabitants, stands at the great inlet which bears its name, on the river Nid by which it is almost encompassed, and defended by the forts of Christianstein and Munkholmen, the latter of which is built on a rock in the port of Drontheim.

Drontheim, though none of the newest of the Norwegian towns, but rather one of the oldest, was founded so late as the year 997 by Oluf Trygeson king of Norway. Probably no towns existed in this country before the seventh, or even ninth century; civilization arriving late among its inhabitants. Tribes of the Finnish race, whence the modern Laplanders are descended, may have been the first occupants of Norway and Sweden.

* Coxe, vol. v. p. 233.

The ancestors of their present inhabitants were of the great Gothic or Scythian race, which from Asia spread itself over most of Europe.* From a great division or denomination of Goths, called the Baſternæ, under which were comprehended the Peukini, these countries are supposed to have been wholly or chiefly colonized. This may have happened some centuries before the Christian era, but of the internal history of Norway before the latter part of the ninth century we are ignorant. Toward the end of that century the Norwegians, who had long been famous or infamous by their piracy, and were divided into ten or twelve small states under their several chiefs, were united into one nation by Harold Harfagre or Pulchricomus, who subdued or expelled the petty princes, and rendered himself the first monarch of all Norway. Even since that period, with which it commences, the history of this country is barren of such events as would require observation here. Excepting that it was twice for a short time brought under subjection to Denmark, in the tenth and the eleventh centuries, and was united in the thirteenth for a time with Sweden, Norway remained a distinct independent kingdom, until by the marriage of Margaret of Denmark with Hagen of Norway, and the succession of their son Oluf in 1380, it was finally annexed to Denmark and has since remained under Danish government to the present time.

Govern-
ment.

Norway is administered by provincial courts and officers, and a supreme court at Christiania, of

* See Pinkerton's dissertation on the Scythians or Goths.

which

which the governor is president, and from which appeals are carried in the last resort to Copenhagen the Danish capital. The Norwegians however enjoy their own laws, and are in consequence of these much happier than the Danes. "Norway is blessed with a particular code called the Norway-law, compiled by Grieffelfield, at the command of Christian the fifth, the great legislator of his country. By this law, the palladium of Norway, the peasants are free, a few only excepted on certain noble estates near Frederickstadt. But the virtue of this law extends itself even to these serfs, for no proprietor can have more than one of these privileged estates; and, unless he possesses a title or certain rank, and resides on his estate, he loses his privilege and the peasants are free. The benefits of the Norway-code are so visible in its general effects on the happiness and in the appearance of the peasants, that a traveller must be blind who does not instantly perceive the difference between the free peasants of Norway and the enslaved vassals of Denmark, though both living under the same government. A curious custom prevails in Norway, called *odels right*, or right of inheritance, by which the proprietor of certain freehold estates may repurchase his estate which either he or any of his ancestors have sold, provided he can prove the title of his family. But in order to enforce this claim, his ancestors, or he, must have declared every tenth year, at the sessions, that they lay claim to the estate, but that they want money to redeem it; and if he, or his heirs, are able to obtain a sufficient

cient sum, then the possessor must, on receiving the money, give up the estate to the *odels man*. This custom is attended with advantages and disadvantages. It fixes the affection of the peasant on his native place, and he improves with pleasure those possessions which are so strongly secured to him: it increases the consequence and excites the industry of his family. On the contrary the estate loses its value when sold to another person, because, as he possesses only a precarious estate, which he may be obliged to resign, he is not inclined to improve the lands, as if they were irrecoverably his own."

The royal revenue of this kingdom may amount yearly to between three and four hundred thousand pounds, and it furnishes the king of Denmark with as fine a body of seamen as in the world, and an army in the form of a militia, of no contemptible force. "The Norwegians maintain their own army, which consists of twenty-four thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry. The troops are much esteemed for their bravery, and, like the Swiss mountaineers, exceedingly attached to their country. The horses which supply their cavalry are small, but strong, active and hardy. Every peasant, (those excepted who inhabit the coast and are classed as sailors,) not born in a town or on some noble estate, is by birth a soldier, and enrolled for service at the age of sixteen. From that year until he has attained the age of twenty-six, he is classed in the young militia. At twenty-six he enters into the old militia, and continues to serve till thirty-six, at which period he receives his discharge. The militia take the field every year in the month of June, and

and remain encamped about a month."* The officers receive pay nearly equal to that of the officers of the mercenary troops; but the common soldiers none, except when engaged in actual service, or in their annual manœuvres.

The history of religion in Norway differs little Religion. from that of Denmark. Lutheranism was established by the same ecclesiastical revolution, and under the same government in both kingdoms. The government of the church is the same in both. The livings of the parochial clergy are moderate; the highest not exceeding two hundred pounds a year, the lowest not falling below sixty; which, when we consider that a family is maintained at less expence here than in some neighbouring countries, is not quite so scanty a provision as it may at first appear. Each of the four dioceses or provinces, already named, has its bishop, but the precedence is allotted to the see of Christiania. The annual revenue of each is four hundred pounds, excepting the bishop of Christiansand who has six hundred. A seminary called a Latin school is established in the principal place of each diocese, and one at Bergen named Frederick-College; but the youth of Norway who seek the education of universities, resort to that of Copenhagen, and to those of foreign countries.

The Norwegians, though under a despotic mo- Inhabi- narchy, enjoy in a great measure the blessings of tants. liberty, which must be the case where the people

* Coxe, vol. v. p. 192, 195.

are armed and entrusted with their own defence; while a people disarmed and trodden under foot by a mercenary army cannot have real freedom, whatever the form of the government may be. From the superiority of their laws and political institutions they have greatly the advantage of their Danish fellow-subjects in point of manners; but, excepting this superiority, the Norwegians, from their long intercourse with the Danes by their union under the same monarchy, differ little from that people in habits or manners, and, from their common Gothic origin, still less in personal configuration and complexion. More closely allied to the Swedes in consanguinity, or more directly descended from the same or kindred tribes of the Goths, they may more exactly resemble that people in corporal characteristics, as, excepting changes made by time and the Danish connexion, they resemble them in language. “Wilsø, a native of Norway, informs us that the gentry and inhabitants of the principal towns, allowing for a few provincial expressions, speak purer Danish than is usual even in Denmark, not excepting Copenhagen; that the inhabitants of the eastern confines bordering on Sweden, naturally blend many Swedish words; that throughout the whole country the general accent and cadence is more analogous to the Swedish than to the Danish pronunciation; and that the inhabitants of the western coasts, who have a more constant communication with the Danes, partake less of this peculiarity.” The Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish tongues are dialects

Lan-
guage.

of

of the Gothic, very similar among themselves and to the speech of the Lowland-Scots of Britain. They are all spoken in a singing or chanting tone, but the Norwegians and Swedes have a more varied and lively pronunciation.

The Norwegians have little remarkable in their Habits. drefs. The gentry are clothed like those of the neighbouring countries. The peasants "weave their ordinary cloth and linen: they make also a kind of stuff like a Scottish plaid. The cloth which the men use principally for their coats is of a stone color with red button-holes and white metal buttons." On the coasts they use broad hats like umbrellas, and a kind of black hood or vail on the head as a protection against the thick and frequent rains. "The women, while employed in their household affairs, frequently, as in Sweden, appear only with a petticoat and a shift with a collar reaching to the throat, and a black sash tied round the waist. Their linen is remarkably fine; and, as they are usually well made, this mode of dress displays their shapes to the best advantage.

The peasants of Norway are well clothed and well Manners. lodged, and appear to possess more comforts and conveniences of life than any peasantry in Europe excepting the Swiss. They possess much spirit and fire in their manner, are frank, open, and undaunted, yet not insolent; never fawning to their superiors, yet paying proper respect to those above them. Their principal mode of salute is by offering the hand, and when they receive a small favor, instead of returning thanks by words or by a bow, they

THE NORWEGIAN ISLANDS.

they shake the person's hand with great frankness and cordiality." The Norwegians are in general high spirited and honest in their dealings. They have much ancestral pride, and, as most of the old nobility are in the direct line of primogeniture extinct, "many of the peasants pretend to be descended from the ancient nobles, and some even from the royal line: they greatly pride themselves upon this supposed descent, and are careful not to give their children in marriage but to their equals in birth and blood."* They are generally regular in their behavior, instructed in reading, writing, and the duties of religion. From the very thin population of their country, which precludes an advantageous division of labor,† they are mostly obliged to practice a variety of handicraft trades in order to furnish themselves with several necessary articles, and often display in this business much expertness and ingenuity.

THE

NORWEGIAN ISLANDS,

EXTENDING, intermixed with clusters of rocks, in a kind of chain of prodigious length around the whole western coast of Norway, are, like the

* Coxe, vol. v. p. 191—196.

† See the division of labor in Smith's admirable treatise on the Wealth of Nations.

neighbouring

neighbouring continental shore, generally high and precipitous next the sea, productive of pasturage, but very scanty of corn, very thinly peopled, some quite destitute of inhabitants, but mostly grazed by the cattle of their proprietors. The few inhabitants of these rocky, tempestuous, and humid tracts, are mostly mariners or fishers. Some draw part of their sustenance from fowling. This is a dangerous trade, practiced by men, who, in order to seize water-fowl, their young, or eggs, climb the steep faces of tremendous rocks, or are suspended from above by ropes held and managed by their assistants. These islands are of various magnitude; some quite of diminutive size, others of ten, twenty, and a few of above thirty miles in length. The largest are on the coasts of Nordland and Finnmark. The isles of Lofoden, which, together with those of Westraalen, form with the continental tract of Nordland a sea called West-fiord, are famous for the tremendous whirlpool of Mahl-Strom, Moskoe-strom, or Maelstroom, the terrors of which have doubtless been exaggerated by fancy and fiction.

Among the small southern isles of the Lofoden group runs a furious current, particularly between the island of Moskoe and the point of Moskoenas, where its violence is greatest, flowing contrary to the motion of the tide in a kind of circular or wheeling stream, turning to a south-south-east course as the flux rises to half its height, afterwards to a south, a south-west, a west, to a north-west, when the tide is highest, and at last a north. Twice in the twenty-four hours, at the turn of ebb and tide,

Mael-
stroom.

tide, the current ceases, and the water is tranquil and safely navigable during three quarters of an hour each time; after which it recommences, and rises by insensible increments to its highest force. This force is by no means equal in all periods of the year or month: it is moderate excepting at the full and change of the moon, and at the equinoxes. In the time of its greatest violence the danger of its influence is said to extend through a tract of sea eighteen, or even twenty-four English miles in diameter; its roaring to be audible at the distance of many leagues; and its current to sweep with irresistible impetuosity any ship which it seizes toward the center of the vortex, where it is ingulfed by the waters, and dashed into shreds against the rocks below, insomuch that when its fragments rise to the surface at the turn of ebb, they cannot be known as parts of a ship. Whales and other animals, which happen to be caught by the whirl, are said to shew themselves sensible of their horrid situation by their hideous bellowings, and by their violent but ineffectual struggles to escape. Probably for every phenomenon of this immense Maelfroom, or whirlpool, the tides, the coasts, the position of the submarine rocks, and the variety of the depths of water, which is in some parts four hundred fathoms deep, in others shallow, would satisfactorily account, if they were accurately known; but the descriptions given by navigators, and others, who have written from their observations, are not quite congruous one with another.*

* Justin Bing, *dissertatio de gurgite Norvatico*; Ramus, *tractus historico-geographicus*; Pontoppidan, &c.

D E N M A R K,

EXTENDING between the British and Baltic seas, *Site.* from the river Eyder, its limit on the side of Holstein or Germany, to the Scaggerack which parts it from Norway, is a long peninsula,* which from a slender isthmus expands northward to a considerable breadth, and, again contracting toward the noreast, terminates in a point called the Skaw, supposed to mark the limit between the Scaggerack and Categate seas, which conjointly form the angled entrance of the Baltic in form of an elbow or bended arm. Unlike the coasts of Norway, those of *Coast.* Denmark are generally low, particularly in the narrow southern part, or the dutchy of Sleswick, where, for the protection of their lands, the inhabitants, like the Dutch, maintain huge dykes against the irruptions of the sea of Britain. Of the inlets, which indent the shores, and, particularly

* Under the name of Denmark are commonly comprehended the Danish peninsula and the Danish islands in its vicinage. This use of the word is quite convenient and allowable in a political sense, as these countries may properly be said to constitute the kingdom of Denmark: but in a geographical account it seems inaccurate to name as one country a heterogeneous composition of continent and islands, whose connexion arises more from their political than their natural situation. The name of Denmark is therefore here confined, in a geographical sense, to the peninsula, and the Danish islands are considered separately, pursuant to the method already adopted in the descriptions of other European countries.

on

on the eastern side, form several good harbours, none penetrate far within the line of coast excepting one huge inlet named the gulf of Limford, which entering from the east cuts Denmark almost across, and widening, like the land itself, from a narrow gut or strait, extends above seventy miles to the west, containing some islands, and so peninsulating the northern part of the country as to leave between it and the sea of Britain an isthmus of hardly a mile in breadth.

Face.

Denmark resembles Norway as little in its face as in its coasts. The interior of the broad northern part contains hills or mountains less high than bleak and of wild aspect, and is much overspread, not without the interfection of good pasture-grounds, with bogs and heaths; among the latter of which is that of Aalheide, in the diocese of Ripen between Skive and Kolding, which in an extent of near thirty English miles is almost desert. With these exceptions Denmark is of a level or gently waved surface, uncommonly fertile and verdant, exhibiting a beautiful scenery of small woods, rich meadows, and corn-fields; but the woods are mostly confined to the eastern parts; the western being bare of trees and consequently much inferior in beauty. The narrow southern region of the peninsula is extremely fertile: great part of it next the sea of Britain consists of a greyish and viscous kind of clay, destitute of springs, insomuch that the inhabitants are obliged to depend on water preserved in cisterns: * but Denmark is in general well

* Busching, tome 1. p. 239. a la Haye 1768.

watered:

watered: its broad northern part contains many Waters. small, but no large lakes, and is intersected by many streams, the greatest of which is the river Guden, whose channel receives forty little rivers, and, from its prime fountain to the discharge of its waters into the Categate, winds through a length of a hundred English miles, navigable from the town of Randers not far from its efflux. From Rendsburgh on the river Eyder, which parts the kingdom of Denmark from the German dutchy of Holstein, a canal, for the opening of a communication between the British and Baltic seas for vessels of a hundred and twenty tons, is made at the expence of near eight hundred thousand pounds, above twenty English miles in length, a hundred feet wide above, fifty-four below, with a depth of at least ten feet of water, and with sluices twenty-seven feet broad and a hundred in length.*

Denmark, situate between the same parallels of latitude with the northern parts of Britain, differs from these in temperature and seasons only by having a more continental situation. The summer is hotter than in Britain in the months of June, July, and August; the spring and autumn short, especially the former; the winter long and severe; the inlets and straits of the Baltic frequently so obstructed with ice as to be innavigable, sometimes so frozen as to be crossed by loaden carriages. The obstruction of the straits and harbors, which has

* Coxe, vol. iii. p. 420—422. Dub. 1784. vol. v. p. 10, 11. Lond. 1791.

been

been experienced even late in April, is caused by loose floating ice drifted from other places and collected in these narrow channels, more than by the cold of the Danish atmosphere; for the sharpness of the winter is much mitigated by vapors from the seas, which, together with the exhalations of the marshes, render the sky often gloomy, the air foggy and insalubrious.

Productions.

The rivers, lakes, and inlets of this country are well stored with fish; and the soil, though poorly cultivated by an enslaved, oppressed, and dispirited peasantry, yields great quantities of corn, particularly rye, abundance of excellent pasturage, and feeds great numbers of neats, horses, and swine, insomuch that it has been called a land of bacon and of rye-bread. As Denmark possesses not any considerable mines nor extensive manufactures, her exports consist only of corn and cattle: of the latter between sixty and eighty thousand are annually sent abroad. Many of them are fatted in Holstein, which though a part of the Germanic empire, and quite distinct from the kingdom of Denmark, is yet subject to the Danish monarch. Holstein, containing much low, marshy, and extremely fertile ground, is supposed to furnish more excellent fat cattle, in proportion to its extent, than any other part of Europe. The Danes, though their country furnishes no great variety of matter for exportation, yet, being quite a maritime people, employ many ships, and, with the products of their different possessions, have a tolerably extensive commerce. The chief commercial towns of the Danish peninsula

fula is Flendsburgh, whose trade must be greatly affected by the canal from the Eyder already mentioned.

In its utmost length the peninsula of Denmark Area. extends little more than two hundred and thirty English miles: its broad northern part is above eighty in width, but its southern not above forty, thirty, and, in one place, twenty: its area seems not much to exceed eight millions of English, or five of Irish acres: but when we include the islands, which compose with the peninsula the kingdom of Denmark, this kingdom may contain between eleven and twelve millions of English, or seven of Irish acres. The number of inhabitants is much less than might be expected from the extent and fertility of this country, but not indeed from the nature of its government. The Danish peninsula contains hardly more than six hundred thousand persons. Including the islands the kingdom of Denmark has about, or near, a million and thirty thousand inhabitants.* By taking into the account the kingdom of Norway, the island of Iceland, those of Ferroe, and the dutchy of Holstein with its dependencies, of which the king of Denmark is the immediate sovereign, this monarch may reckon about two millions and fifty thousand subjects of both sexes and all ages; a number probably not exceeding the half of that which is contained in the compact isle of Ireland.

* Coxe, vol. 3. book 8. chap. 3. Randolph's letters, p. 30, 31.

Division.

Formerly the whole Danish peninsula from the river Eyder was denominated Yeutland or Jutland, and divided into two parts, North-Jutland and South-Jutland. At present the former is named simply Jutland, and the latter Sleswick. North-Jutland is conceived to be divided into the nine *syffels* or districts of Wend, Himmer Cimmer or Cimber, Salling, Har, Lover, Aabe, Ommer, Jelling, and Almind or Baring. Its more recent division is into the four dioceses of Aalborg, Wiborg, Aarhus, and Ripen. These are subdivided into bailliages and other small territories, as is also Sleswick, which contains no diocese, but is subject in spirituals to the superintendence of others.

Towns.

The kingdom of Denmark, including the Danish islands, contains sixty-eight towns, twenty-two burghs or towns of a smaller size, and about seven thousand villages. None, except the capital which stands in one of the islands, is of any considerable magnitude. They are mostly built of stone or brick, more commonly the latter, and are generally neat, particularly in Sleswick, where they are remarkably clean and in the Dutch fashion. The largest town of the Danish peninsula is Sleswick, the capital of the dutchy so named, situate on an inlet of the Baltic called the Sley, which gives it not the advantage of traffic, for its entrance is barred. It is a long irregular, but handsome town, containing between five and six thousand inhabitants; and close to it stands an old castle, called the palace of Gottorp. The most important town however of this dutchy and the whole peninsula is
Flensburg,

Flensburg, situate in a hollow surrounded on three sides with rising grounds, and washed on the fourth by an inlet of the Baltic, which forms a safe harbor for the greatest vessels.

The peninsula of Denmark was, considered by History, the ancients as a part of Germany, and in it appear to have dwelled in the time of Tacitus seven distinct tribes or confederacies of people.* From a remnant of the great Cimbric nation situate probably at the mouth of the Elbe, or in Holstein, geographers after Ptolemy have called it Chersonesus Cimbrica, or the peninsula of the Gimbri. Its inhabitants, with other Baltic tribes, were formidable in the fifth century under the names of Angles, and Jutes or Vitœ, and still more terrible in the sixth and following centuries under that of Danes, by their wasteful and sanguinary depredations: but the internal history of Denmark is unknown previously to the tenth century, notwithstanding some accounts which begin with the seventh, but which are fabulous, at least quite uncertain. Few events interesting to any but a native occur even in the course of its authentic history. Harold Blaatand, who died in the year 980, was the first Christian king of Denmark. Canute the great, who held the united crowns of Denmark and England, was a grandson of this prince; and his line male became extinct by the death of Hardicanute, who ended his days in England in 1041. Swein the second, a nephew of

* See Pinkerton's Correction of Cluverius.—Dissertation on the Scythians or Goths, p. 164.

Canute the great by his sister Estrida, was the first of a new line of kings, called the middle race, which ended with Waldemar the third, the end of whose reign was in 1375.

Waldemar leaving no male offspring, his daughter Margaret, wife of Hagen king of Norway, obtained possession of the Danish throne, to which adding Norway by marriage, and Sweden by conquest, she united these kingdoms by the treaty of Calmar in 1397. This admirable heroine, the salutary vigor of whose administration, and benignity of conduct, endeared her to her subjects, was one of those instances which tend to demonstrate that the female genius would be no way inferior to the male, if it were equally cultivated, and had equal opportunities of exertion. The inscription on her tomb truly characterizes her as "a princess whom posterity could never sufficiently honor as she deserved." An intelligent traveller adds, "nothing less could be said of a personage, who so justly claims our respect and veneration, and whose glorious reign has scarcely its parallel in the records of history."* Margaret, who from her magnanimity has been styled the Semiramis of the North, died in 1412, and after the successive advancement of Eric of Pomerania and Christopher of Bavaria to the throne, the regal dignity was at length conferred on Christian, count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, in the year 1449, who gave commencement to the third line, or that of Oldenburg, in

* Cox, v. 3. p. 396.

whose possession the crown of Denmark has remained to the present time.

The only event in the history of the Oldenburg line of kings immediately connected with the plan of this work is the revolution of 1660, a revolution unparalleled in the annals of nations, by which a people spontaneously renounced their liberty, and vested their very limited monarch with the most unlimited power.

The crown of Denmark had been always elective; yet the eldest son of each deceased monarch, or the person who should succeed by right of primogeniture, if such right had been allowed, was uniformly chosen; but, in return for the favor, was obliged to subscribe a capitulation, or charter of privileges, by which the regal prerogatives were gradually diminished. A diet or parliament composed of the three estates of the realm, the nobility, the deputies of the clergy, and of the commons, held the supreme legislative power: the executive was intrusted to a senate composed of the principal nobles, and to the king, who was not to be considered in a higher light than as commander of the armies and president of the senate. The same authority which exalted the monarch to the throne might also degrade him. Of this an awful instance was given in the person of Christian the first, who, on account of his cruelties, was in the year 1523 formally deposed by the judgment of his subjects, and afterwards immured in a dungeon.

Notwithstanding the form of a free constitution, no true freedom was enjoyed. The aristocracy preponderated,

ponderated, and doubtless an aristocracy of hereditary nobles is worse than monarchical despotism. The people felt the galling and increasing pressure of the former evil, and rushed precipitately into the latter. In the year 1660, when the nation had been exhausted by a war with Sweden, and the citizens of Copenhagen had acquired great honor by their valor, the deputies of the clergy and of the commons, exasperated by the intolerable arrogance of the nobility, who adhering, as usual, to their privilege of exemption from taxes, refused to contribute in any equitable proportion to the relief of the public burthens, made a formal surrender of their liberties to the king, Frederick the third, and forced the nobility into the same compliance; happy, had they contrived, and been able to establish, a salutary compound of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, instead of reducing all orders under despotism, for the sake of involving in the common servitude the proud nobility.

Govern-
ment.

Since this revolution the government of Denmark is a pure, unmixed, or absolute monarchy, hereditary in the male, and, in failure thereof, in the female line. The monarch is styled king of Denmark and of Norway, of the Vandals and Goths, duke of Sleswick and Holstein. That of the Vandals and Goths is as vain a title as if he were styled king of Europe. Among the honors, which he confers on his favorite subjects, are two orders of knighthood, that of the elephant or of the blue string, and that of Dannebrog, or of the white ribbon. For the administration of the legislative,

lative, executive, and judicial departments, the management of the revenue, and other affairs of state, courts and officers are appointed, modeled by the sole will of a despot, and unnecessary to be capitulated. At the head of all is the cabinet, or privy council, and immediately under it the Danish and German chancelleries, the former for Denmark and Norway, the latter for Sleswick, which however is a part of Denmark, and for the dutchy of Holstein. The towns and districts have their several magistrates, and a diocesan bailly, or chief magistrate, presides over each province, or diocese. Neither the Roman, nor any other foreign law is admitted in Denmark. The Danish laws are remarkable for their justice, perspicuity, and brevity; but the execution of them cannot be equitable under an arbitrary government, and among a tyrannical nobility, where few or none can be found honest and bold enough to defend the righteous cause in opposition to the great; for, though the feudal aristocracy has been destroyed by the revolution of 1660, the feudal vassalage still subsists; the peasants having no leases, nor means of protection against their lords, to whose lands they belong in the manner of cattle. Count Bernsdorf, a name worthy of the most honorable record, set a truly *noble* example by the emancipation of his tenants.* The prince royal of Denmark, in whose hands the administration has some years remained, is said to have had the magnanimity to follow his steps with

* Coxe, vol. 5. p. 31.

respect to the peasants on the royal demesnes; and doubtless the beneficial consequences will induce others to remove this yoke of thralldom so disgraceful to human kind.

Foreign
possession,

The dominions of the Danish monarch are widely scattered, since beside the Danish peninsula and its islands, Norway, Holstein, the Swedish island of Bornholm, the Ferroe islands, and Iceland, he commands in North-America the unproductive region of Greenland; in the West-Indies the isles of Saint-Croix, Saint-Thomas, and Saint-John; a few small settlements on the coast of Africa; the fortresses of Tranquebar and Dansborg on the coast of India, and, beside some small factories or lodges in the Indian regions, the Niccabar, or Frederick's Islands north of Sumatra. Holstein, a German state, and one of the most valuable possessions of the Danish crown, belongs to the king of Denmark in like manner as Hanover to the British monarch; but with very different effects; the one being contiguous, the other distant. It was added in like manner to the Danish dominions by the succession of a German prince, the count of Oldenburg, to the throne; but the whole of it was not under the Danish dominion till the year 1773, when the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst were given in exchange for the deficient part.

Revenue.

Variety and extent of territory alone create not revenue. That of the Danish monarch seems not to exceed fourteen hundred thousand pounds yearly from all his dominions; near half of which is raised from the islands in the vicinity of the Danish peninsula,

peninsula, and from Jutland exclusively of Sleswick. Above a hundred thousand pounds arise from the tolls, which all foreign ships, even those of Russia and Sweden, pay in passing the straits of the Danish islands into the Baltic. These tolls were originally paid for light-houses erected for the benefit of the subjects of the Danish government, who very reasonably demanded a proportionable sum from foreigners who enjoyed the advantage. They were afterwards made a matter of royal revenue and carried to extortion, but finally settled by agreement at certain rates, in which all nations trading to the Baltic acquiesced.* The debts of the crown were stated in 1785 at three millions and six hundred thousand pounds; but as the Danish court has adhered, as usual, to a prudent system of peace, they are greatly reduced, and probably amount at present to between two and three millions only.

The army and navy of the Danish monarch may Forces. seem disproportioned to his revenue. Some years ago the army of this prince, including the troops of Holstein and Norway, amounted to sixty-six thousand men. Of the Danish and Holstein troops near two thirds are national militia, the rest regulars and mostly foreigners. The national militia are incorporated in the same regiments with the regulars, and consist of peasants who are exercised

* The English, French, Spaniards, Dutch, Swedes, Portuguese, Neapolitans, and Hamburgers, pay one per cent. for all goods not mentioned in the tariff: other nations one and a quarter. Beside this each vessel pays four rix-dollars, or eighteen shillings, if loaden, and two if empty.

at stated times, but reside on the estates of their landlords, each of whom is obliged to furnish a certain number of such soldiers without expence to the crown. They are embodied only once a year in their respective districts during about seventeen days. The army has since been augmented, and is said to amount to seventy-five thousand, including that of Norway already mentioned in the account of that country. The Danish troops are said to be ill disciplined, but their navy, the natural force of such maritime countries, is respectable. Beside thirteen ships of the line, and five frigates, which had been condemned, or served only for parade, the armed fleet of Denmark consisted in the year 1779 of twenty-five ships of the line and fifteen frigates. Four or five of the former are commonly stationed in the ports of Norway, the rest mostly moored at Copenhagen, the harbour of which, having only twenty feet of depth of water, admits them not till they are disburthened of their lower tiers of guns. The expence of the hulk of each of these ships amounts to about two hundred pounds for each gun, and a thousand pounds when ready for sea with four months provision. Most of the oak is procured from Germany. A ship of ninety cannons, when fully manned, carries eight hundred and fifty men, one of seventy cannons seven hundred, and a frigate of thirty-six bears two hundred and fifty. Four or five thousand seamen are employed in the royal navy in time of peace, besides that between thirty and forty thousand are registered, each of whom receives eight shillings annually

as

as a retaining fee, and is liable to be called at any time into actual service, but until then is at liberty to serve aboard merchant vessels, or in any other occupation.*

The Christian religion is said to have been Religion. preached in Denmark in the year 822, but not firmly tolerated, much less established, before the end of the tenth century. Lutheranism was established in 1537, in the reign of Christian the third, and has so remained to this day. Toleration is allowed to other sects, but few professors of them are found. The Danish hierarchy consists of six bishops, or superintendants, besides four in Norway, and two in Iceland. The bishops have no temporal power, nor more authority over the inferior clergy than is necessary for the observance of good order in the church. The benefices of the church are not in the gift of the bishops, but the presentations belong partly to the king, and partly to the nobles; nor can any person be ordained a clergyman until he be previously presented to a benefice. None of the prelates bears the title of archbishop; but the bishop of Zealand is Metropolitan in Denmark, as the bishop of Aggerhuus is in Norway. The annual revenue of the bishop of Zealand is a thousand pounds, of Funen seven hundred and sixty, of Aarhus six hundred, of Aalborg four hundred, and of Ripen four hundred. "The other clergy are provosts or archdeacons, parish-priests and chaplains. Each diocese is divided into a certain num-

* Coxe, vol. iii. p. 362—371. also Busching, Randolph, &c.

ber of districts, over which the provosts have the inspection, and each district into parishes. A large parish, beside the principal church, has one or more additional chapels of ease. The parish-priests receive their salaries principally in glebe, tithes, and surplice fees; and in some places from the voluntary contributions of their parishioners. The profits vary in the different parts according to the cheapness of provisions and other incidental circumstances. In the kingdom of Denmark, including the islands, the livings seldom exceed four hundred, or fall short of sixty pounds annually, Jutland excepted, in which peninsula are a few scarcely worth twenty. A clergyman's widow usually receives the whole profit of her husband's cure for the year immediately following his decease, and a pension from his successor amounting to the eighth part of the annual income."*

Literature.

The Danes have the advantage of one university, that of Copenhagen, beside that of Kiel in Germany on the Danish border, and equally subject to the king of Denmark, together with several academies for the promotion of literature. Much has been added to the stock of knowledge by the Danish court, who has encouraged the researches of the learned, and employed several men of literature to travel into distant regions for information. Many well informed individuals, and some large libraries are found among the Danes: that of the king contains a hundred and ten thousand volumes, beside

* Coxe, vol. iii. p. 371—373.

seven thousand manuscripts: his private library also contains twenty thousand volumes.* A general diffusion of knowledge, however, cannot possibly have place where the mind is shackled by monarchical despotism and feudal slavery; and accordingly we find that the Danes in general, notwithstanding particular instances of a contrary kind, are involved in ignorance.

Descending in common with the Swedes and People. Norwegians from the Gothic race, the Danes use a dialect of the Scandinavian, not differing radically from the Swedish, but harsher, and, from their long intercourse with the Germans, especially since the accession of the house of Oldenburg, gradually assimilating to the German tongue, which, equally with the Scandinavian dialects, is the offspring of the Gothic. In configuration and complexion they differ not from the Swedes, excepting that they are observed to be commonly more corpulent and clumsy, as they are also more dull, phlegmatic, and heavy of genius. They have in general a resemblance of the Dutch, particularly in Sleswick, where many Dutch colonists are settled. The Danish ladies are said to have a less captivating complexion, which is attributed to the too great heat of the stoves, by which, instead of hearths, their chambers are warmed. The better kind of houses are of brick; others of wood or clay. Each house has often a piazza in front, where the family sit in summer. The customs of the Ger-

* Coxę, vol. v. book 9. chap. 2.

mans prevail among the Danes. The food of the lower classes is chiefly rye-bread, cheese, eggs, milk, and occasionally meat. Their fuel wood, or more commonly turf. In habit they have no striking difference from their neighbours, particularly the Germans, excepting that the middle and lower classes affect a red color. The females of the lower classes, at least in some parts of the kingdom of Denmark, display their finery on Sundays in such a manner with starch and beads as to give a stiff or awkward appearance, as if the body were inclosed in a coat of mail. The nobles, particularly those who have access to the court, are dressed in the French mode, speak the French language, and endeavour to force nature in aping the French manners.*

Manners. Very little can be said with good authority concerning the manners of the Danes. Their dull, saturnine, heavy disposition of mind, is doubtless in great measure caused or augmented by the nature of their government, which renders them tame, passive, unenterprising, destitute of any considerable portion of emulation or laudable ambition; for servility pervades all ranks, in the peasant toward the noble, and in the noble toward the prince. They are said to be much inferior, in a collective sense, to the Germans, at least to the protestant part of the Germans, in civilization; the lower classes gloomy, superstitious, clownish, and rude; equalling the most sensual of the Germans in ebrie-

* Williams' Northern Governments, art. Denmark. Travels of a Dutch officer, letter 18. Swinton's Travels, letter 8.

ty, excessive eating, and other vices; while hardly any travellers acknowledge them to partake of the German virtues, of which we may perhaps reasonably suppose them to have a share. One proof of their want of civilization is a barbaric extravagance: the expenses of a wedding are said often to consume the whole fortune of the bride, and those of a funeral the whole substance of a family. The great amusement of the Danish nobility is hunting, a barbarous pastime, which, without regard to the tortures of animals, the distress of the peasants, and the general detriment of the community, fills with tumultuous enjoyment the vacant hours of a mind unacquainted with the substantial pleasures of intellectual or useful pursuits.

THE

DANISH ISLANDS,

CONSISTING of Funen, Zealand, Moen, Falster, Laland, Langeland, Arroe, Alsen, and many others of small size, constitute, by their extraordinary fertility, and the advantages of their situation, a very considerable part of the kingdom of Denmark. They are mostly low, level, or gently diversified with small swellings of the ground or hills, and differ not from the Danish peninsula in climate, productions, inhabitants, or government, all of them being subject to the king of Denmark, who makes

makes one of them his place of residence. The number of their inhabitants amounts to about four hundred and thirty thousand on an area of near three millions and four hundred thousand of English acres. Excepting some of the smaller, which are politically incorporated with the dioceses, or provinces, of the peninsula, these islands are arranged in two dioceses, that of Zealand, and that of Funen; the former comprehending Zealand and Moen, beside the Swedish isle of Bornholm; the latter, together with some smaller, Funen, Lange-land, Laland, and Falster.

F U N E N,

Funen.

OR Fionia, is the second in magnitude of the Danish islands, extending nearly in form of a broad ellipse, or oval, forty English miles in length and thirty-four in breadth, parted from the peninsula of Denmark by a channel, nine English miles broad, named the smaller Belt, and from the isle of Zealand by another, eighteen broad, called the greater Belt. The shores are flat and sandy, the rest a gently undulated surface, tolerably cultivated, beautiful, and of extraordinary fertility, exporting commonly a hundred thousand tuns in the year of various kinds of grain, particularly buck-wheat,* beside a considerable number of cattle, and some leather of an excellent kind, the excellence of which

* Busching, tom. i. p. 191.

is supposed to arise in some measure from the quality of the water of a river in which it is soaked for tanning.* This river is a small innavigable stream, on which, at the distance of two miles from an inlet called the bay of Stegestrand, stands Odenfee, the capital of the island, an ancient town, but in part newly built, containing above five thousand inhabitants.

Z E A L A N D,

SEELAND, or Sialand, the greatest of the Danish Zealand islands, is of a form approaching that of a circle, between sixty and seventy English miles in diameter, separated from the Swedish province of Skonen by a strait called the Sound only three miles broad. It is of a flat or gently uneven surface, of a sandy soil, extremely fertile, indifferently cultivated, destitute of rivers excepting a few brooks, beautiful in a scenery of meadows, fields of corn, lakes of a small size, and woods of beech. The second of its towns in respect of magnitude is Elsinoor, well built of brick in the Dutch manner, containing five thousand souls, situate on the Sound, and remarkable for the toll paid by all vessels passing through this strait, which is in part commanded by the castle of Cronborg. Ships, however, could sail through the Sound close to the Swedish coast, and quite out of the reach of the batteries of Cron-

* Coxe, vol. iii. b. 8. c. 5.

borg; but the tolls of the Sound and of the great and little Belts are paid in compliance with a long established custom.

Copenha-
gen.

The capital of Zealand, of all Denmark, and the residence of the Danish monarch, is Copenhagen, or Kiøbenhavn, situate twenty miles from Elsinør, on a low and somewhat marshy promontory, on the eastern side of the island, where is formed an excellent harbor the station of the royal navy. It is the best built city of the north of Europe. It "is surrounded on the land-side with regular ramparts and bastions, a broad ditch full of water, and a few outworks. Its circumference measures between four and five miles. The streets are well paved, with a foot-way on each side, but too narrow and inconvenient for general use. The greatest part of the buildings are of brick, and a few are of freestone brought from Germany. The houses of the nobility are in general splendid, and constructed in the Italian style of architecture. The haven is always crowded with merchant-ships, and the streets are intersected by broad canals, which bring the merchandize close to the warehouses which line the quays. This city owes its principal beauty to a dreadful fire in 1728, which destroyed five churches and sixty-seven streets, which have since been rebuilt in the modern style. The new part of the town, raised by king Frederick the fifth, is extremely beautiful, scarcely inferior to Bath. It consists of an octagon, containing four uniform and elegant buildings of hewn stone, and of four broad streets leading to it in opposite directions.

tions. In the middle of the area stands an equestrian statue of Frederick the fifth in bronze, as large as life, which is justly admired. It was cast at the expence of the East-India Company by Saly, and cost eighty-thousand pounds sterling.* Copenhagen contains near eighty thousand inhabitants. A part of it, called Christianshafen, is built on the adjacent isle of Amak, inhabited by a colony from East-Friesland, long mingled with the Danes, yet still in appearance a distinct people.

“ The royal palace in Copenhagen is a very magnificent triangular building of hewn stone, the wings and stables of brick stuccoed. The front is three hundred and sixty-seven feet in length, the sides three hundred and eighty-nine, and the height a hundred and fourteen. It has six stories, of which three are mezzonines. In the fourth story is the grandest suite of apartments, both as to size and decorations. The concert room is a hundred and twenty-eight feet by thirty-eight. The Ritter saal, or Knights saloon, is remarkable for the grandeur and elegance of the proportions: it is a hundred and twenty-eight feet long, sixty-two broad, and forty-eight high. It is lighted by several chrystal chandeliers, and many gilded urns, placed upon the balustrades of a gallery.” Beside this, belong to the Danish monarch other palaces in Zealand, as those of Hirsholm, Fredericsholm, and Friedensberg; the first a large quadrangular building of brick stuccoed white, surrounded by a moat,

Palaces.

* Coxe, book 8. chap. 1.

and placed in a very low and marshy situation ; the second situate sixteen miles from Copenhagen, “ an enormous and motley mass of building, partly of red brick, and partly of stone, partly Gothic, and partly in the Grecian style of architecture, built round three courts, each of which is surrounded by moats and joined by bridges ;” the third a brick building stuccoed white, consisting of a front and two wings, four miles distant from the second, delightfully situate near the lake of Esserom, amid majestic woods.*

M O E N,

Moen.

OR Mona, extending fifteen English miles in length, seven in breadth, and containing the small maritime town of Stege, resembles the rest of the Danish islands in fertility, but differs in face, its coasts being high, and its hills of chalk visible from afar, among which one, called the King's Chair, is fancied to resemble a throne in shape.

F A L S T E R,

Falster.

DISTANT four miles from the coast of Zealand, extends twenty-three miles in length and twelve in breadth where widest, low, flat, and extremely

* Coxe, book 9. chap. 2 and 4.

fertile,

fertile, particularly in fruits, infomuch that it might merit the title of the orchard of Denmark. At its chief town, Nyekiobing, is a great palace or castle, of old architecture, and long uninhabited.

L A L A N D,

OR Lolland, twenty-eight miles long and eleven Laland. broad, low, marshy, with brackish water, and somewhat unwholesome air, is accounted the most fertile of all the Danish islands, producing vast quantities of wheat, and other kinds of grain, much of which is exported, particularly from Naskow the chief town.

L A N G E L A N D,

ALMOST equal in richness of soil to Laland, extends twenty-six miles in length, little more than three in breadth, and contains only one town, called Rudkioping.

Arroe, Alsen, and several other small isles, have nothing remarkable to entitle them to a description. Arroe, ten or twelve miles long, and one or two broad, is distant six miles from Funen. Alsen, somewhat larger, close to the continent, and distant from Arroe eight miles, contains the town of Sonderborg, which has the advantage of a deep and excellent harbor.

S W E D E N,

S W E D E N,

CONFINED on the south by the most southern flexure of the Baltic, extends northward along that sea beyond its most northern point; whence turning again to the south, if we include Swedish Finland, it incloses in its bosom the whole gulf of Bothnia. Its coasts, no where deeply indented, are almost every where bordered with rocks or islands, which render its access not a little dangerous. Excepting the southern part which is washed on the west by the Categate, and which diminishes in elevation toward the seas on the east, south, and west, the country has a slanting position between the great Scandinavian Alps and the Baltic, shelving to the latter with the utmost irregularity, overspread in a great proportion with mountains, hills, and naked rocks, detached or in concatenation with the Alpine chain. The rocks, which in scattered fragments or extended ridges, rise in such numbers above the surface, particularly toward the north, consist of red or grey granite, and granite forms the basis of all Sweden.

Waters.

From the slanting position of this country between a vast ridge of mountains and the sea, from its basis of rock, and from the very great unevenness of its face, we may presuppose no small number of running waters, lakes, and waterfalls. The lakes form a great and striking part of the scenery of Sweden, numerous, various in form and extent, picturesque

picturesque and beautiful, mostly sprinkled with islands of naked rock or tufted with wood. One of the greatest and most remarkable of the Swedish lakes is the Maeler, or Malar, situate between the provinces of Upland, Sudermannia, and Westmannia; extending near eighty English miles in length and thirty in breadth; extremely beautiful to the view, fringed around with hanging woods; thickly sown with tufted isles, above twelve hundred, it is said, in number; receiving in its bosom the redundant water of the Hielmar and other lakes, and discharging its own into the Baltic, whence it is but a few miles distant, by two rivers named the Nordstrom and Sudstrom.* Another great lake is the Wetter, or Veter, at least a hundred miles long, from six to twenty-six broad, elevated seventy ells above the level of the Baltic, reported to be two hundred fathoms in depth, or four times as deep as that sea, containing two islands of some size, swelled by about forty small rivers, and having one exit, called the river Motala, which, in its course eastward to the Baltic, falls near Norkioping in a great cataract of sixteen fathoms, or near a hundred feet. Whether from subterraneous winds, or the contour of the surrounding country, this lake is subject to sudden commotions as if agitated by a tempest, for which an incredible cause has been assigned of too silly a nature to merit further notice.†

* Busching, tome i. p. 476. Coxe, vol. iii. book 7. c. 9. vol. v. book 10. c. 4.

† Busch. tom. i. p. 507. Coxe, book 10. c. 1.

The greatest of all the lakes of Sweden, and indeed one of the greatest in Europe, is the Wenner, ninety miles long and forty broad, augmenting and diminishing irregularly its quantity of water, diversified with islands, receiving the tribute of twenty-four rivers, particularly the Clara which runs a long course from Norway, and having only one vent for its waters, the river Gotha, which issues from its south western angle, and after a course of near seventy miles, falls into the Categate in two branches near the town of Gotheburg. The channel of this river is generally from three hundred yards to a mile broad till in approaching Gotheburg it is confined to the breadth of four hundred feet by two ranges of mountains which accompany its stream. Here the water is quite smooth, and tranquil as a lake, till it suddenly falls down the cataracts of Trolhaetta, called by the Swedes the gulphs of Hell. In the course of two miles are four principal and some smaller cataracts, separated one from another by whirlpools and eddies. The perpendicular height of all the falls taken together is said to be but a hundred feet; yet from the wildness of the scenery, and the great body of water successively dashing from gulf to gulf, these cataracts have always been considered as an awful object of admiration.*

After the three greatest, to particularize more of the very numerous lakes of Sweden would be superfluous. All or most of the rivers, obstructed in their beds of rock, form cascades, and are innavi-

* Coxe, book 7. c. 9.

gable without artificial aid. The greatest have their sources within or near the frontiers of Norway, such being the position of the great Alpine ridge. The chief of these is the Dahl, or Dala, which near the village of Elfearleby, at the distance of some miles from its influx into the Baltic forms a noble cataract. "The Dahl flows for some way in a broad and tranquil stream, until its course is interrupted by a ridge of rock and a high island about a quarter of a mile in circumference, which separates its waters into three principal parts, as they dash with unceasing fury, and form a cataract scarcely inferior to the fall of the Rhine at Schaffhausen. The island divides the cataract into two principal falls, of which the eastern fall is the finest. The breadth of the river from shore to shore is near a quarter of a mile, and the perpendicular height of the fall between thirty and forty feet. The river rushes at the bottom in a narrow channel scarcely a hundred feet broad, struggling for vent with unceasing fury, and foaming at the foot of the island covered with pines which overhang the abyss, silent and astonished spectators of the glorious scene! Words must be always deficient in endeavouring to describe a large river pouring its flood of waters from the rocks, roaring with the noise of thunder, and scattering its foam on the impending woods; neither the pencil nor poetry is adequate to the description."*

From the multitude of lakes dispersed throughout Sweden, and the multitude of streams by which

* Cox, book 10. chap. 10.

they

they communicate, an extensive inland navigation might have place, if it were not prevented by the unevenness of the rock which constitutes the basis of this country; and causes so many cataracts. The excessive hardness of the granite renders the formation of canals a work of extreme difficulty. A grand project has long been entertained to open a navigation quite across the kingdom from Gotheburg to Stockholm, through the lakes of Wenner, Hielmar, and Maeler. This appears to have been rendered practicable, at least with but little interruption, excepting in the space between the Wenner and Hielmar, where the plan is thought to be almost impracticable, or too great for the finances of this country. Another plan has been undertaken, and in part executed, perhaps completed, to form a navigation by artificial cuts, called the canal of Stroemsholm, through a chain of lakes and rivers, from the Sodra-Barken, a large lake on the borders of Dalecarlia, to the Freden-lake which communicates with the Maeler. The sluices are a hundred feet long, seventy-two broad, faced with walls of granite; and the expence was estimated at less than forty thousand pounds.*

Springs.

From the nature and position of this kingdom we might also infer a number of mineral springs. Many of a medicinal kind are known, and the rules prescribed to those who resort to them on account of health are strict and salutary. Among these fountains are those of Saterbronn in Dalecarlia, Runneby near Carlsrona, Ramlosa near Helsing-

* Coxe, book 7. chap. 9. b. 10. c. 4. 9.

burg

burg in Scania, and Medewi near Wadstena in Ostrogothia. The last impregnated with vitriol and sulphur, is called the Spa of Sweden, as being the most celebrated sanative spring in this kingdom. Sweden has also many springs called wells of famine, which announce, when they become dry, such a want of moisture in the earth as must be attended with scanty crops.

The sky of Sweden is generally clear, its air dry *Seasons.* and uncommonly salubrious. Its winter is in all parts extremely severe; the greatest lakes, the whole gulf of Bothnia, and even part of the main sea of the Baltic, being so filled with ice as often not to differ from the firm land in respect of travelling and the transportation of goods. The southern parts, not only from the difference of latitude, but also from a small degree of western exposure, have a milder temperature than the northern, which are screened from all influence of oceanic winds by the vast barriers of Scandinavian Alps. In the provinces which border Lapland the winter may be said to be of eight months duration, in the southern six, the cold being sharp in October, and the snow commonly remaining on the ground till April; but the vehement frosts and permanent deep snows seldom come in the southern parts before December; and in remarkably fine seasons the earth is divested of her white covering early in March. The spring has a duration of only

* Travels of a Dutch officer, translated by Radcliffe. Dublin, 1790, p. 85. 97. 129. 161. Coxe, b. 10. c. 1.

a few weeks, the heat soon becoming powerful, and the vegetation rising with a rapid growth. The heat of summer, from the general calmness of the weather, the great length of the days, and the rocky face of the country, is for two or three months exceedingly forcible,* infomuch that in the north the corn ripens in seven or eight weeks. To the autumn can be assigned hardly more space than to the spring, the winter's cold succeeding quickly to the summer's heat. In the southern parts the corn-harvest is in August and September; the wheat being reaped in the former month, the oats in the latter. Here the middle of August is the seed-time for wheat and rye; that for oats and barley in the spring when the snows dissolve.

Produce.

The hardy rye is the chief corn of the northern parts. It is supposed that in general the quantity of grain produced in Sweden, including Swedish Finland, would be sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants, if a great portion of it were not converted into malt for beer and whiskey. Much pains have been taken by government for the promotion of agriculture, but some political defects still remain which operate to its disadvantage, while the nature of the soil and climate is unfavorable;

* Some *wise* writers gravely inform us that the heat of summer is so intense in Sweden as to set the woods on fire. O cœcas hominum mentes! What must become of the wooden houses which almost all the Swedes inhabit? and what must be the lungs which breathe this burning atmosphere. These conflagrations are caused by the peasants who burn the woods to clear the land for tillage, and to procure wood-ashes.

the arable ground small in quantity, shallow, and stony; the winter long and severe, contracting the seasons of rural industry into too narrow a space. Much corn is imported: the northern parts yield very little; and the greater part of the surface, even in the best provinces of the south, except Scania which is in great part flat and sandy, is occupied by wild forests, lakes, and rocks. The land is interspersed in such manner by the last, that the arable grounds commonly appear only in patches. One of the modes of Swedish culture is this. "The peasants select a piece of ground in the midst of the forest, cut down the trees, strew them over the ground, and burn them when dry. They then dig the earth between the stones with a spade, sow, and harrow it with rakes, and obtain a good crop of corn for two successive years. The ground is then converted into pasture. These spots thus converted are called *swedja-land* or burnt-land, and in the space of fifteen years are again covered with wood."*

The great productions of Sweden, as of Norway, are spontaneous. Vast forests mostly of pine, over-spread great part of the country. These abound in strawberries and other small wild fruits, and a variety of game. The flies bred in these wilds are so large and in such multitudes as to be a pest in summer. Among the insects is a small worm, a sixth of an inch in length, called *furia infernalis*, which in the northern parts of Sweden in autumn drops from above on the human body, and, instantly

* Coxe, book 10. chap. 1.

burying

burying itself in the flesh, causes an excruciating pain and sometimes death. A poultice of curds or cheese is applied with frequent success, but by what means this diminutive yet terrible animal is raised into the air is as yet not known.* The tame and wild fowls and quadrupedes of Sweden are like those of Norway; the horses hardy and strong but not handsome; the cattle in general small, and the wool of the sheep coarse. The lakes and rivers are stocked with fish, particularly salmon. Since the year 1740, when great shoals of herrings were found to frequent the western coasts of Sweden, a fishery has been maintained by the people of Gotheburg, who take on an average, though the fishing continues only about three weeks, two hundred thousand barrels, of which about three fourths are exported. These fish are not so fine as the herrings caught and cured by the Dutch, but, being much cheaper, are preferred by the Russians and Poles. They are sold commonly at fifteen pence a barrel when fresh, and at eight or ten shillings when salted.†

Fossils.

The main support of Sweden are its mines. The quantity of gold thence procured is hardly sufficient to defray the expense. The mines of silver, though greatly reduced in value, are more productive, particularly that of Sala in the province of Westmannia. Of much greater value are those of copper, especially at Fahlun in Dalecarlia, where the works are sunk to the perpendicular depth of

* Pulteney's View of Linneus, p. 259.

† Coxe, book 10. c. 4.

near eleven hundred feet, twelve hundred workmen employed, and the copper found not in veins but in great masses, and only within the circumference of a mile. But the natural wealth of Sweden is its ore of iron, which is discovered in abundance in various parts of the kingdom. The ore mostly runs in veins, or longitudinal branches; but sometimes forms vast masses, the most noted of which is the hill of Taberg in Smoland, which is one immense lump of iron-ore, above four hundred feet high and three English miles in circuit. The iron extracted from the mines of Danamora in Upland, is accounted the best in the world, and is chiefly purchased by the English for the manufactures of steel. These mines are worked in open air, without subterranean galleries, in great pits of about five hundred feet of perpendicular depth, and yield annually about four thousand tons of bar-iron. The mines of iron in Sweden, with the smelting houses and furnaces, are said to employ near twenty-six thousand men.

The forests and mines, but far more the latter, Com-
merce. are the main support of the Swedish commerce. The chief articles of export are copper worked into plates and various utensils, iron, masts and planks of pine, pitch, tar, pot-ashes, herrings, and fish-oil. In the year 1781 the whole exports of Sweden were estimated at almost thirteen hundred and seventy thousand pounds, and the imports at

* For the mines see Radcliffe, Letter 1, 2. 11, 12. Coxe, book 10. c. 10. For the iron-hill of Taberg see Phil. Trans. vol. 49.

less than a million and ten thousand ; so that, with an allowance of some losses and deductions, a clear balance of above a hundred and seventy thousand pounds was stated in favor of Sweden. Of the gross balance, amounting to three hundred and sixty thousand pounds, the far greater part, almost two hundred and seventy thousand, was gained by her trade with England, her exports to that country exceeding in value three hundred and sixty-seven thousand pounds, and her imports from it falling short of ninety-eight thousand. Among the exported goods the iron has a great pre-eminence, its annual value being above six hundred thousand pounds.* The state of the manufactures in this country is low, but the commerce active, giving employment to many thousand seamen. Of the trade of exportation the greater part is transacted at Stockholm and Gotheburg, the former having seven thirteenths, the latter two thirteenths of the whole.† At the latter is formed what is called an East India Company, merely a small society of merchants who send annually two or three ships to China.

Area.

The annual value of exported or imported merchandize, though not very inconsiderable with respect to the population, would appear quite contemptible compared to the area of Sweden, which including Swedish Finland, but excluding Lapland, may contain near a hundred and fifty millions of English, or above ninety of Irish acres. A much

* Coxe, book 10. chap. 3.

† Memoirs de Swede, par Cantzler, p. 374.

greater

greater area has been assigned by some writers, but no accurate computation can be formed from the maps hitherto published. It extends from south to north above seven hundred English miles, besides that Finland stretches above four hundred on the opposite side of the gulf of Bothnia. In the south its breadth is above two hundred miles, but in the north it narrows to an indefinite space of seventy or eighty between the above named gulf and the wilds of Lapland. This kingdom, exclusively of Finland and Lapland, is thrown into three grand or primary divisions, Gothia, Sweden-proper, and Nordland. The first is subdivided into the nine Division. provinces of Ostrogothia, Smaland or Smoland, Westrogothia, Warmeland, Dalia, Bohus or Bahus, Scania or Sconen, Halland, and Bleking; the second into the five of Upland, Sudermannia, Nericia, Westmannia, and Dalecarlia; the third into the seven of Gestricia, Helsingia, Medelpadia, Jemptia, Herndahl, Angermannia, and Westrobothnia.

The area and the number of inhabitants are ill Popula- proportioned in Sweden, which, including the tion. Swedish islands and Finland, contains about two millions and eight hundred thousand inhabitants. The number of people is more accurately known in this kingdom perhaps than in any other country in the world; peculiar care being taken by government to cause an exact annual enumeration by the clergy and magistrates in their several districts. From the tables constructed from these returns we find that the population in the space of thirty years

ending in 1781, had encreased by above five hundred and fifty thousand, or a fifth of the total number then subsisting.*

Face.

The distribution of the inhabitants is very unequal, populous vallies being interspersed among vast forests and solitudes; but the chief difference lies between the southern and northern parts, the latter being much more thinly peopled. The scenery of Sweden is infinitely varied, but in general romantic, picturesque and beautiful. Every where woods, rocks, and beautiful lakes, form a principal part of the landscape. With these are blended in a charming variety meadows, arable grounds, villages, towns, and scattered farm-houses. The villages and gentlemen's seats generally appear in beautiful romantic situations, on rocky eminences suspended over lakes, and frequently surrounded with hanging woods. The habitations of the gentry add greatly to the beauty of the rural scene; men of moderate fortunes, in Sweden as in Britain, commonly residing on their estates, and enjoying in calm retirement the pleasures of a country life. These habitations are assemblages of wooden buildings painted red, and occupy so much ground as to appear like villages in a distant view. In many parts all is wild and rudely romantic, naked rocks in long ridges or scattered masses, dark forests of pine, heaths, and mountains, with few marks of population;† yet the roads are almost every where as

Roads.

* Coxe, book 7. chap. 5.

† For the face of the country see various parts of Coxe, Radcliffe, Wraxall, &c.

good,

good, though not so broad, as the turnpikes in England. "They are also as pleasant as they are good, and in many places look like gravel-walks carried through gentlemen's grounds and plantations, as they wind through the fields and extensive forests, the lofty trees casting a gloomy shade with their overhanging foliage."* Notwithstanding their commodious utility "not a single toll is exacted from the traveller. Each landholder is obliged to keep in repair a certain part of the road in proportion to his property; and, for the purpose of ascertaining their respective portions, small pieces of wood or stone, marked with numbers and capital letters, are placed at different distances on each side of the way."†

Of the inhabitants of Sweden an uncommonly **Towns.** small proportion is collected in towns; little more than a tenth of the whole population. The number of these is estimated at a hundred and four. They are almost all built of wood painted mostly of a brown or kind of red color. In Stockholm, the Swedish metropolis, the suburbs only are quite of **Stock-** wood, the interior parts, or the city itself, being **holm:** mostly built of stone, and brick stuccoed white, the roofs covered with tiles, slates, or copper. This capital, containing above eighty thousand inhabitants, stands most romantically situate between the provinces of Upland and Sudermannia, in one of the most dreary, desolate, and picturesque parts of Sweden, occupying two peninsulas, and seven

* Coxe, b. 10. c. 8. Radcliffe, let. 4.

† Coxe, b. 7. c. 11.

small rocky islands in the Maeler lake, in the streams which issue from it, and in a bay of the Baltic, and forming a long and irregular figure of a most romantic appearance, rocks, houses, trees, water, and ships, being from several points of view blended in one picture. A channel five miles in length, formed by nature in the midst of rocks, joins the Maeler to the Baltic, and makes in the centre of the city one of the most beautiful ports imaginable, capable of bearing the largest vessels, but of somewhat dangerous approach by the multitude of rocks about its entrance in the Baltic. The quay, which lines the harbor, is of extraordinary breadth, and the peninsulas and islands, on which the city stands, communicate by floating bridges.

In the center of Stockholm, and in the highest ground commanding a view of the whole, is the royal palace, a large quadrangular edifice of stone, in a style of architecture both magnificent and elegant. The usual residence of the Swedish monarch in summer is the palace of Drottningholm, situate in an island of the Maeler, three or four miles from the city. Here are fine gardens contrasted with rocks, and in a quarter called Canton the Chinese manner has been exactly imitated; the furniture is all from China and of the most elegant kind, and on certain fetes all the attendants are habited in the Chinese fashion. Another monarchical palace is that of Gripsholm, situate also in an island of the Maeler, a Gothic building impending over the water, with ancient battlements and four irregular round towers covered with copper, which convey

convey a notion of the old castles mentioned in romances.*

Carlskrona, or Carlscroon, the capital of Blek. Carlscroon.
ing, is built mostly on an island and two rocky
islets of the Baltic, close to the main land, con-
tains eighteen thousand inhabitants, and is com-
posed of wooden houses excepting a few of brick.
Its harbor, the station of the royal navy, capable
of containing a hundred ships of the line, is of
difficult access by shoals, is defended at the entrance
by two insular forts, and is famous for its docks
begun on a plan so stupendous, that whether they
will ever be completed seems a matter of doubt.†

The second city of Sweden in magnitude is Gothe-
burg.
Gotheburg, or Gottenburg, containing thirty thou-
sand inhabitants, situate in Westrogothia, and en-
joying the advantage of a commodious harbor,
which being an inlet of the Categate, is always
open, while the other ports of Sweden on the
coasts of the interior Baltic are in winter closed
with ice. "Gothenburg is built in a very singular
situation. At a small distance from the sea is a
marshy plain, scarcely more than half a mile in
breadth, watered by the rivers Gotha and Moldal,
and almost intirely inclosed with high ridges of
rocks, so bare and rugged that they scarcely pro-
duce a single blade of grass, and exhibit as barren
an appearance as the summits of the loftiest Alps.
Gothenburg stands partly on the ridges and partly

* For Stockholm, see Coxe, b. 7. c. 2. b. 10. c. 4. Radcliffe, let. 9.

† Coxe, b. 7. c. 11. Radcliffe, let. 15.

in the plain, and is divided from these situations into the upper and lower town. The latter is entirely level, intersected by several canals in the manner of the Dutch towns, and its houses are all constructed upon piles. The upper part hangs on the declivities, and rows of buildings rise one above another like the seats of an amphitheatre. The whole is regularly fortified, and its circumference is near three miles, exclusive of the suburbs called Haga, which lie toward the harbor. The streets are all uniformly strait. A few of the houses are of brick, but the generality are constructed of wood painted red. The harbor is formed by two chains of rocks, and is about a quarter of a mile in breadth. Its entrance is defended by the fort of New-Elfsburg, which stands upon a small rocky island, and contains a garrison of two hundred and fifty men.”*

Upsala.

The last of the Swedish towns which I shall describe, though inferior to some which are omitted, is Upsala or Upsal, capital of Upland, famous for its university, its antiquity, and its cathedral, the finest church in Sweden, built in imitation of the church of Notre-Dame at Paris. “Upsala, which stands in the beginning of an open plain, fertile in grain and pasture, is a small, but very neat town, containing exclusive of the students, about three thousand inhabitants. The groundplot is extremely regular. It is divided into two almost equal parts by a small rivulet, and the streets are drawn at right angles from a central kind of square. A

* Coxe, b. 7. c. 10.

few of the houses are built of brick and stuccoed; but the generality are constructed of wood painted red, and the roofs are covered with turf. Each house has its small court-yard or garden,"* and by law every house has a large barrel of fresh water on each side of the door, as a resource in case of fire, the freshness of which is preserved by the continual soaking of pine branches, whose verdure gives a cheerful appearance to the town. A centinel also is perpetually stationed on the top of a tower to give the alarm on the first appearance of fire.† The present Upsal, though far anterior to the foundation of Stockholm, is posterior to Gamla-Upsala, or Old-Upsal, the ancient residence of the Swedish monarchs, and probably the most ancient city of Sweden, out of whose ruins the new city is supposed to have grown.

In the vicinity of Upsal, particularly about a small village called Old-Upsal, are great numbers of small mounts or tumuli, supposed to be of human erection, like the barrows of Britain, and to have been raised for some religious or sepulchral purposes.‡ Tradition pronounces them the tombs of ancient princes, and altars of pagan sacrifice. Innumerable ranges of stones, oval and circular, like those of Britain,§ but none comparable in greatness to that of Stonehenge, appear throughout Sweden; and there, as elsewhere, elude the

* Coxe, b. 7. c. 6.

† Radcliffe, let. 10.

‡ Idem & ibidem.

§ See vol. 3d of this work, p. 95—97.

investigation

investigation of antiquarians. These rude monuments are doubtless of high antiquity, anterior to the introduction of Christianity, and most probably were scenes of religious worship, though some of them may have been formed for other purposes.

History.

Probably the earliest inhabitants of Sweden were of the Finnish race, and their successors and expulors, perhaps exterminators, Basternic tribes of the mighty Scythian or Gothic generation. The chief colonists may have been the Sitones, a Basternic nation, whence may have come the name Suitiod, which Sweden bore in the early ages of the Christian era. Previously to the tenth century the history of this kingdom is unknown, fabulous, or dubious; nor are the dates of its events well ascertained before the middle of the twelfth century. At that time Sweden-proper and Gothia, which had been long united under one monarch, became separated by the elections of two distinct kings; but were soon after in 1162 re-united in the choice of Charles the seventh to the throne. The monarchy was elective, and though regard was commonly paid to birth, yet the election sometimes deviated from the line of primogeniture, and even from the commonly reigning family. The general assembly or diet of the nation was composed of the four estates of clergy, nobility, townsmen, and peasants, represented by their deputies. The hierarchy by a series of usurpations acquired such property that their wealth exceeded that of the other estates and the king together. The power of the monarch was extremely limited: he could hardly be considered

dered in a higher office than that of generalissimo of the armies, and president of the senate, a council of twelve nobles, in which resided the sovereign power and majesty of the state. The system was disorderly; no rational regulations were enforced; the prelates and nobles dwelled in fortified castles, committing aggressions and revenging injuries by the force of their vassals and retainers, without any appeal to public justice, which was unable to afford protection.

Such was the situation of affairs in the fourteenth century, when Albert of Mecklenburgh, the then reigning monarch, endeavouring to reduce the power of the petty tyrants, and to render the monarchy absolute, was attacked by Margaret of Denmark, the renowned Semiramis of the north, who, joining her arms to those of his discontented subjects, deprived him of the crown, and by the famous union of Calmar in 1395 combined the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden into one empire. Sweden soon felt the weight of a vigorous foreign government. Margaret, securing the support of the clergy who constituted the most powerful party, by that and other means governed the Swedes with absolute sway. In the reign of her weak successor, Eric of Pomerania, who mounted the throne in 1424, the vigor of administration degenerated into intolerable oppression and military tyranny. A furious revolt was the consequence, and, after some changes of fortune, Charles Canutson, a Swede, was elected king to the exclusion of the Danish claim, in the year 1448:

but

but the bishops were strongly attached to the interest of Denmark, and Canutson was twice expelled from his kingdom. He died at last in possession of the crown in 1470; but the regal authority was so unsubstantial, that his successor, Steno Sture, declining the title of king, contented himself with that of administrator, a title which descended to his successors. The country continued to be harassed by the Danish faction, which, though checked by the vigorous policy of the second administrator, Swanto Sture, was at length triumphant, all Sweden being reduced to the obedience of Christian the second of Denmark in 1519.

Christian, a most treacherous and bloody tyrant, in order to secure himself in the government, almost exterminated the principal Swedish nobility by a most flagitious massacre, and ruled the Swedes with a rod of iron. He was fully seconded in his atrocious proceedings by Troll archbishop of Upsal, a monster of pride and cruelty. "While these two men, unanimous in their oppressive measures, and disagreeing only about the division of the spoil, domineered over Sweden with all the tyranny of the most absolute despotism, and all the cruelty of the most implacable revenge, a new and unexpected event gave a sudden turn to the state of affairs.

Gustavus Vasa, a young man sprung from the ancient kings of Sweden, arose from the forests of Dalecarlia, where he had long lain concealed, and came to deliver his country from bondage. He was one of those great souls whom nature so seldom produces, and who are born with all the qualifications

fications necessary to form the accomplished monarch. His handsome and stately person, and his noble majestic air, gained him followers at first sight. His eloquence, recommended by an engaging manner, was the more persuasive the less it was artful. His enterprising genius formed those projects which, though to the vulgar they may appear rash, are considered only as bold in the eyes of great men, and which his courage and perseverance enabled him to accomplish. Brave with circumspection, and mild and gentle in a fierce and cruel age, he was as virtuous as it is possible for the leader of a party to be. He had been a hostage to Christian, and had been detained a prisoner contrary to the law of nations. Having found means to escape from prison, he had dressed himself in the habit of a peasant, and in that disguise wandered about in the mountains and woods of Dalecarlia, where he was reduced to the necessity of working in the copper-mines, at once to procure subsistence, and to conceal himself from his enemies. Buried as he was in these subterranean caverns, he had the boldness to form the design of dethroning the tyrant. With this view he discovered himself to the peasants, who regarded him as one of those superior beings to whom the common herd of mankind are naturally inclined to submit. These savage boors he soon improved into hardy and warlike soldiers. He attacked Christian and the archbishop, beat them in several encounters, drove them both from Sweden, and at last was justly chosen king of that country of which he had been the deliverer.

Hardly

Hardly was this prince established on the throne, when he undertook an enterprize still more difficult than his conquests. The real tyrants of the state were the bishops, who having engrossed into their own hands almost all the riches of Sweden, applied their ill-gotten wealth in oppressing the subjects, and in making war upon the king. This power was the more formidable as in the opinion of the ignorant populace it was held to be sacred. Gustavus punished the Roman catholic religion for the crimes of its ministers; and in less than two years introduced Lutheranism into Sweden, rather by the arts of policy than the influence of authority. Having thus conquered the kingdom, as himself used to say, from the Danes and the clergy, he reigned an absolute and a happy monarch to the age of seventy, and then died full of glory, leaving his family and religion in quiet possession of the throne.*

By this revolution the government of Sweden in 1523 became a hereditary monarchy, and its dominions were widely extended by the warlike successors of Gustavus Vasa. By one of these, Charles the eleventh, the crown was rendered completely absolute. His son and successor Charles the twelfth, who was born in 1682, and ascended the throne in 1697, made Europe tremble with the terror of his arms, and ruined his subjects by his romantic exploits. This prince, the most extraordinary perhaps of all who have worn the crown, a hero in action, but courageous to madness, and obstinate to stupi-

* Voltaire's Charles the Twelfth.

dity, being killed by a random shot at the siege of Frederickshall in Norway in the year 1718, another revolution of government took place in Sweden. The Swedes reduced to the lowest ebb of distress by the martial despotism of their late prince, who had lost many valuable territories, and impoverished his kingdom to a state of weakness from which it has never since recovered, changed the monarchy from absolute and hereditary into limited and elective, raising to the throne in this predicament Ulrica Eleonora, the youngest sister of Charles.

By this revolution the Swedes from despotism fell into the opposite extreme. The king, destitute of a salutary coercive power, was reduced to a cypher. Dissention took place, and the interests of the country were sacrificed to foreign gold. Two factions named the Hats and the Caps, the former in the interest of France, the latter in that of Russia, contended for superiority. The people were oppressed and the regal majesty insulted by an odious aristocracy. The state of affairs was again changed in the year 1772 by Gustavus the third, who with extraordinary address overthrew the aristocracy, and acquired for the crown such prerogatives as rendered it almost absolute.

According to the form then established the legislative power is vested jointly in the king, who, beside other titles, is foolishly styled king of the Goths and Vandals, and in the four estates of the kingdom, which compose the general diet or national assembly. Without the consent of this assembly the king cannot make war, nor impose taxes,

Govern-
ment.

taxes, except in case of actual invasion by a foreign enemy, and in that case the taxes are to be abolished at the end of the war, and an account of their expenditure produced to the diet. In the king rests the prerogative of convoking and dissolving the diet, the command of all the land and marine forces, the disposal of all commissions military and civil, the expenditure of the public money, and virtually the whole executive power, for he holds this jointly with the senate of which he is master, the senators, seventeen in number, being appointed by him and removable at pleasure.

The Diet. The four states which form the diet are the representatives of the nobles, the clergy, the citizens, and the peasants. In each house or state a majority of suffrages is decisive, and in most matters a concurrence of three out of the four houses is considered as a determination of the opinion of the states, but the king has a negative on the resolutions of the whole. In cases of privilege and taxation no decision can be made without the unanimous consent of the four houses.

The Nobles.

In Sweden, as in most European countries, all the sons of noblemen are noble, but the heads of families alone in the direct line of primogeniture are members of the diet. All these are members by hereditary right, and each represents in his person not only all the younger part of the chief line, but also all the collateral branches. These members are about twelve hundred in number, but scarcely ever half that number assemble. Some of the nobles have the style of duke, count, or baron; others have

have no other title than the acknowledged nobility of their blood. In 1775 the number of noble families was two thousand one hundred and seventy, of which eighty-five bore the title of count, and two hundred and thirty-one that of baron. The noble persons amounted to above eleven thousand including children.

The representatives of the clergy are fourteen House of
Clergy. bishops, together with the delegates of the inferior clergy. In each diocese is a number of archdeaconries, each of which has the privilege of returning one member. All beneficed clergymen and the upper and under masters of the royal schools are qualified to elect and to be elected. The number of deputies fluctuates between fifty and eighty, because sometimes two archdeaconries join in returning one member, and sometimes each returns a member singly.

The house of citizens or burghers is composed of House of
Citizens. the deputies of towns. In Sweden are a hundred and four towns which have the privilege of sending representatives to the diet. All these towns have the right of sending each at least two members, some three, and Stockholm ten. Every citizen of these towns, being a freeman engaged in trade or commerce, and paying taxes to the crown, is at twenty-one years of age an elector; and every one who has been seven years a freeman, or three years an alderman, is capable of being elected at the age of twenty-four. The representatives deputed to the diet vary in number from a hundred to two hundred,

dred, as those of the clergy, and from a similar cause.

**House of
Peasants.**

The house of peasants is composed of deputies elected in the several districts of the country by the farmers or peasants to be their representatives. Those who have leases of lands for life under the crown, or who have purchased a perpetuity of their lands, under an annual quit rent, from the crown or from the nobles, are qualified to be electors and representatives. The purchase of such farms may be from thirteen hundred to thirty pounds. The number of members who compose this house is various, from the like causes as in the two former cases, but is generally about a hundred. It is to be observed that to be qualified as peasants it is necessary to be descended from peasants; so that country gentlemen, who are neither nobles or peasants, are totally excluded from any share in the government.*

Laws.

The Roman or civil law has no force in Sweden. Four superior courts of justice are established, "at Stockholm for Sweden-proper, at Lindkioping for Gothia, at Abo for South-Finland, and at Vasa for North-Finland. No sentence of death passed by the inferior courts can be carried into execution unless ratified by these tribunals. Inferior tribunals assemble occasionally in the principal towns, and a kind of assizes are held generally thrice in the year under the county judges. It may not be uninteresting to mention that in the latter is held a kind

* For the government, see Sheridan's Account of the Revolution of 1772, also Coxe, b. 7. c. 4. b. 10. c. 2.

of jury, consisting of twelve peasants, chosen by the district, and confirmed by the governor of the province. They continue in office for life, and seven of them form a court. In all criminal cases the judge demands their opinion, which prevails against his decision if they be unanimous. But this institution, according to practice, is a mere formality; for the jurymen are so ignorant and poor, that most of them pay an implicit deference to the dictates of the judge; besides, their sentiments have only force when they all agree, and they are not, as in England, obliged to be unanimous. The supineness, indeed, and passiveness of these insignificant retainers of justice is so notorious, that a man remarkable for his indolence and inattention is commonly said to be as sleepy as a jurymen.

The usual modes of execution in Sweden are beheading and hanging. Every criminal capitally convicted is indulged with the privilege of petitioning the king. They either complain of unjust condemnation, and in that case demand a revival of their sentence; or, if they allow themselves to be guilty, may implore pardon or a mitigation of their punishment. So mild are the penal laws, that several offences, which in other countries are considered as capital, are chastised by whipping, condemnation to bread and water, imprisonment and hard labor. More than a hundred and twenty strokes of the rod are never inflicted; nor is a criminal sentenced to bread and water for more than twenty-eight days.

Many flagrant abuses in the courts of justice have been reformed and corrected by Gustavus the third. In all cases of high treason previous notice must be sent to the crown before any court can commence an inquiry; an ordinance which has put a stop to many frivolous and vexatious accusations, which used to be brought against the subject. By the abolition of many tedious forms every criminal is arraigned in a short period after commitment, the good effects of which alteration require no comment. His majesty increased the salaries of the judges, and consigned their share of the fines inflicted by their decision to other uses. He also promoted the rights of humanity by suppressing in 1773 the use of the torture, which was employed for the purpose of obtaining a confession of guilt from suspected persons. One excellent regulation in the courts of Sweden deserves to be mentioned and adopted in all countries—*a criminal is tried without the least expence to the plaintiff or defendant. The prosecutor denounces the person suspected of guilt to the king's officer of justice, who carries on the process at the public charge.*”*

Revenue.

The revenue of the king of Sweden arising from the rents of crown-lands, capitation taxes, customs, and various other articles, amounts to about a million and fifty thousand pounds. In this estimate “are not included the rents of land immediately assigned for the militia-establishment and sailors, and for the pay or salaries of the governors of provinces and their officers. These rents, levied di-

* Coxe, b. 7. c. 5.

rectly by those to whom they are assigned, amount at least to three hundred thousand, or three hundred and fifty thousand pounds."* Yet the annual expenditure formerly exceeded the revenue, and the debt of the crown amounted some years ago to between five and six millions. An extraordinary scarcity of cash was until lately experienced in Sweden; the only metal money in common use being of copper; but that inconvenience has been remedied by a coinage of silver.

"The Swedish army is divided into national militia and garrison-regiments. The latter, or troops upon the German footing, are composed of natives and foreigners duly enlisted, are stationed in the several garrisons, and receive their pay in money. In order to comprehend the nature of the Swedish militia, it is necessary to observe that the kingdom is divided into districts which are respectively bound to furnish and maintain a stipulated number of troops. With this view each holder of a certain quantity of land, called a hemman, provides a foldier, assigns for his maintenance a small portion of ground, a cottage and a barn; and allows a hundred copper dollars or almost twenty-eight shillings per annum, a suit of coarse clothes, and two pair of shoes. When the foldier is absent in the service of government, the landholder cultivates his ground for the subsistence of his wife and family; and, when he is present may call upon him to work at the rate of the common wages given to a laborer. Upon the death of the foldier his widow

* Cox, b. 10. c. 3.

and children are obliged to cede the ground and house to his successor, whom the landholder is bound to provide within the space of three months upon pain of being fined. With respect to the cavalry, a certain number of hemmans are joined to furnish a man and horse fully equipped, and to maintain them both. Beside four shillings and two pence annually paid by the proprietor of each hemman toward defraying the expence of the soldiers uniforms, some crown-demefnes are set apart for the same purpose, but in so small a quantity as to be scarcely adequate to the charge of clothing two regiments. On this account, as the national troops are not, in time of peace, under arms for a longer space than three weeks, they are seldom provided with new uniforms oftener than once in eight or nine years.

Upon a similar principle the officers of these national troops receive instead of their pay in money certain estates in land called *bostœlle*, which are situate in the same province to which the regiment belongs. They are allowed an additional appointment of corn from the king's tythes. The estate appropriated to the colonel is situate toward the center of the province, and of the grounds assigned to his regiment; that of the captain in the middle of those belonging to his company; and in a similar gradation to the corporal. In every year, when the peasants are least employed, the companies of each regiment are separately assembled for two or three weeks. Besides, once in three years a general review of each regiment takes place.

The

The men are also constantly exercised on Sundays. If in time of war these troops are marched out of the country, the crown receives the usual contributions from the landholder, and provides the soldiers with clothes, provisions, and other necessaries."* In 1779 the Swedish army consisted of between forty-seven and forty-eight thousand men, of whom near thirteen thousand were garrison troops, the rest militia. Of the former only about eight hundred were cavalry, of the latter about seven thousand four hundred.

"The seamen belonging to government are registered, and amount to eighteen thousand. Of these some receive their pay in money, and others are distributed in the same manner as the national militia, small portions of land on the islands and on the sea coasts being assigned to them for their subsistence. Of these eighteen thousand, according to the most favorable accounts, only about six thousand are reputed to be experienced seamen: the rest are mere peasants. Upon an emergency the king enjoys the power of pressing sailors from the merchantmen, but only in exchange for the registered seamen."† The Swedish royal navy, whose station is Carlscrona, may amount to near thirty ships of the line and half as many frigates, beside between fifty and sixty gallies commonly stationed at Stockholm, skilfully adapted to the difficult navigation of the Swedish coasts, and principally used in the transporting of troops.

* Coxe, b. 7. c. 5.

† Coxe, b. 7. c. 11.

Foreign
possession.

After the substantial appurtenance of a fleet and army, I may be expected to notice the unsubstantial of foreign possessions, and of orders of knighthood. Of the former to Sweden belong part of Pomerania and the district of Wismar in Germany, the German island of Rugen, and the isle of Saint Barthelemi in the West-Indies. Of the latter I shall mention only the number and the titles. The orders of knighthood in Sweden are four, of the Seraphim or blue ribbon, of the Sword or yellow ribbon, of the Polar star or black ribbon, and of Vasa or the green ribbon.

Knight-
hood.

Religion.

The Christian religion was preached in Sweden in the beginning of the ninth century, but with little success till toward the end of the tenth, when it was generally embraced, particularly by the king Olaus, surnamed the tributary, because he subjected his kingdom to the payment of Peter's pence to the pope. The Roman catholic religion was abolished by Gustavus Vasa in 1529, and that of Luther established in its place. This is the religion of Sweden at present, nor are many professors of any other found in this kingdom. The archbishop of Upsal and thirteen bishops compose the hierarchy of Sweden including Swedish Finland. The bishops are low in revenue. The prelates of Upsal and Wæsteros have each about a thousand pounds annually; the rest less: the lowest three hundred. To the bishops are added three superintendents, who rank as prelates, but have no seat in the legislature. The bishops are bound to residence in their several dioceses except when the diet sits. Their power

power is confined, and the jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs is vested in nineteen consistories. The number of the inferior clergy, consisting of deans, archdeacons, rectors, and perpetual curates, is said to be but thirteen hundred and eighty-seven.

The bishops are concerned in the government of the universities, and are obliged to inspect the seminaries and schools in their several dioceses. Univer-
sities.

“Sweden contains the three universities of Upsala, Lund, and Abo; and twelve seminaries for the education of youth, called gymnasia. In every large town is also a school maintained at the expence of the crown, in which boys generally continue to the age of eleven, when they are sent to the gymnasia, and thence at sixteen to one of the universities. In the gymnasia and many of the greater schools the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages are taught.”* The chief university is that of Upsala, containing about twenty professors, whose salaries are from seventy to a hundred pounds a year, and commonly five hundred students, who lodge in the town, none being accommodated in the buildings of the university. The library is said to have repositied in it about forty thousand volumes.† The university of Lund in Scania, chiefly intended for the study of Theology, has twenty-one professors, about three hundred students, and a library of twenty thousand volumes; though the town is but a village in size, its number of inhabitants being stated at eight hundred. Societies of

* Cox, b. 7. c. 2.

† Cox, b. 7. c. 6. b. 10. c. 1.

learned men have been established at Stockholm and Upsala. Literature has been cultivated with uncommon success in Sweden, particularly in the departments of metallurgy and botany, in the former of which the labors of Bergman, in the latter those of Linneus, are highly conspicuous.

People.

The Swedes, deriving their origin from the Scythians or Goths, bear in their persons the characteristics of that race, fair complexions, light or yellow hair, and blue or grey eyes. They are observed to be of a more light and active, but not

Language.

less robust make than the Danes. Their language has a striking resemblance to that of the Lowland-Scots of Britain, or what is commonly called broad Scotch, in pronunciation, in a multitude of single words, and even in whole sentences. It is pronounced in a singing or chanting tone, the voice being lowered on the penultimate, and raised again on the last syllable. Its pronunciation is less harsh, and more lively and varied than that of the Danish. "The Swedish manner of speaking would inspire even an unintelligent listener with gaiety, while the mournful accent and almost guttural pronunciation of the Danes, impresses only sensations of melancholy."*

Habit.

In apparel we find little peculiar among the Swedes. The French fashions have long been in use among the ladies, few of whom adopted a national dress which was introduced by Gustavus the third. This was adopted by many gentlemen, and for their sex consisted principally of a short

* Radcliffe, let. 18. See also Coxe, b. 7, c. 10. b. 10. c. 5.

tight coat or jacket, with, in full dress, a short cloak. The Swedes in general affect a short attire, and blue or black cloth. The peasants wear coarse cloth of their own manufacture, lined in winter with sheep-skin. Veils are much used not only by the ladies, but also by the female peasants, who, when at work in the fields, cover their heads with black crape, "a useful custom in a country where the eyes are liable to be weakened by the glare of the snow in winter, and the reflexion of the sun from the rocks during the long days of summer."*

The food of the Swedish gentry differs little from Food. that of their neighbours of the same rank. That of the peasants consists chiefly of salted flesh and fish, eggs, milk and hard bread of rye mixed with oatmeal. At Michaelmas they usually kill their cattle, and salt them for the ensuing winter and spring. Twice in the year they bake their bread in large round cakes, which are strung by a hole in the middle upon files of sticks, and suspended close to the ceilings of the cottages. They are so hard as to be occasionally broken with a hatchet, but are not unpleasant. The peasants use beer for their common drink, and are much addicted to malt-spirits or whiskey. In the districts toward the western coast, and at no great distance inland, tea and coffee are not unusually found in the Swedish cottages, which are procured in great plenty and at a cheap rate from Gotheburg.† In the northern parts, in times of scarcity, the bark of the birch,

* Radcliffe, letter 18.

† Coxe, b. 7. c. 10.

or of the fir, or the pulp of certain herbs, is mingled with meal to augment the quantity of bread as in Norway.*

Houses.

The houses of the Swedes in general are all of wood, excepting a semicircular hearth or stove and chimney of brick. "Their cottages are comfortable and commodious. The room in which the family sleep is provided with ranges of beds, in tiers, one over the other. Upon the wooden tilters of the beds on which the women lie are placed others for the reception of the men, to which they ascend by ladders. Excepting the houses in the largest towns, and gentlemen's seats, few of the buildings in Sweden are roofed with tiles. They are principally covered with turf or moss, no thatching being used, as being both too dear, and dangerous in case of fire. In order to exclude the rain, large layers of birch-bark are spread over the timber work of the roof under the covering of turf or moss. These turf roofs make a singular appearance, many of them producing herbage, which is occasionally cut for the cattle." Some are ornamented with flowers, and strike the view with an odd kind of rural beauty.†

Manners.

Such are the effects of government on people of the same ancestry and in close neighbourhood, that the Swedes in genius and manners are very different from the Danes. As a free constitution and equitable laws extend their protection to the lowest classes, the peasants enjoy in a tolerable degree the

* Busching, tome i. p. 433, 434.

† Coxe, b. 7. c. 10. b. 10. c. 1. Radcliffe, let. 7.

comforts of life; civilization is considerably diffused; morality is successfully inculcated by the clergy, and much honesty appears among the common people. The effects of a free constitution would have been much greater, if abuses had not found place, and if its operation had been more steady. The Swedes are in general active and lively. The nobles have been accounted proud, but polite, with high notions of honor. Politeness, or civility in various forms, appears to pervade all classes. Such is the general probity that "through the greatest part of Sweden, especially northward of Stockholm, the doors of the houses, and even those of the inner rooms, are left open during the night, both in the towns and in the country; an instance of confidence and security, in which the inhabitants are very well justified by experience, thieves being unknown in Sweden, except in garrison-towns, and among the regiments of raised troops."*

Few people are so attentive to the duties and precepts of religion as the Swedes; but the common people are surpassed by few in superstition. They have been accused, like the Danes, of a foolish extravagance in funerals, weddings, and such occurrences; and have doubtless too great a propensity to strong liquors. Thus, even in the genteel houses, a glass of spirits is taken with a bit of bread and butter immediately before dinner. This meal commonly has place about the hour of twelve. The peasants are laborious, and rudely

* Radcliffe, letter 13.

practice,

THE SWEDISH ISLANDS.

practice, particularly far from towns, a variety of trades for their own immediate use, making their own clothes, shoes, and various implements necessary for agriculture. Many of them, when employment fails at home, seek it abroad, particularly the northern Dalecarlians, large troops of whom, chiefly in time of harvest, go yearly to the more fertile provinces in search of sustenance and labor. The fair sex in Sweden are not less active in laborious exertions of industry, for they are commonly employed in works which in most other countries are considered as the peculiar province of males: the Swedish women hold the plough, thresh the corn, row the boats, and ride as postillions.

 THE

SWEDISH ISLANDS,

INCLUDING not only those which lie on the Swedish coasts in the Baltic sea and gulf of Bothnia, but also those which are dispersed in the lakes, are so extremely numerous, that some authors have been bold enough to assert that six thousand of them are actually inhabited. Most of them are small rocky islets. All, except Bornholm, are subject to the king of Sweden, and may be considered as constituent parts of the Swedish kingdom. They are inhabited by Swedes, and in face and productions resemble the neighbouring continent. The most

most considerable are Bornholm, Oeland, Gothland, and the isles of Aland.

B O R N H O L M,

BETWEEN twenty and thirty miles in length, Born-
and twelve or fifteen broad, is of extremely diffi-^{holm.}
cult access by shoals on its coasts, and is fortified,
where accessible, against invading enemies by bat-
teries of cannon. All its men are soldiers, and
firmly attached to the crown of Denmark, to
which this island has been subject, excepting some
small interruptions, during some centuries. It
contains only two or three small towns. Its prin-
cipal, named Ronne or Ronde, on the south-west,
has a harbor of no great depth, nor secure against
all winds. The fortress of this island, and what
some have called the Gibraltar of Denmark, is
Earthholm, a cluster of fortified rocks, about an
English mile in circuit, enclosing an excellent har-
bor capable of receiving ships of the line, a few
miles distant from the coast of Bornholm.*

O E L A N D,

CONSIGNED by the crown to the maintenance Oeland.
of seamen, extends ninety English miles in length,
ten in breadth, contains about eight thousand in-

* Busching, tom. i. p. 188—190. Swinton's Voyage, let. 9.
habitants,

habitants, and two or three small towns, at one of which called Borgholm is a royal castle or fortress.

G O T H L A N D,

Goth-
land.

TERMED the eye of the Baltic, the greatest island of that sea, a hundred miles long and above thirty broad, has a fertile soil, and is inhabited by a people of such honest simplicity, that the inhabitants of the towns and the peasants are said neither to sell nor barter, but to furnish one another with whatever is wanted as far as they can without any bargain.* Its capital, named Wisby, formerly a large town, and still of some consideration, has a port of no great capacity, but tolerably commodious.

Aland.

The isles of Aland form a cluster which by chains of granite rocks extends to the coasts of Finland. They are all very inconsiderable excepting one called Aland, which gives name to the rest, forty miles long, sixteen broad, distant about fifty miles from the Swedish province of Upland, containing some thousands of inhabitants,† who speak the Swedish language, and inhabit many villages, but no town of magnitude. All this cluster of islands is in the regency of Finland, and in those which lie nearest to that country the Finnish language is spoken.

* Busch. tom. i. p. 522.

† Coxe (book 7. chap. 1.) says fifty thousand; but I apprehend a mistake, and that the number must be far less.

FINLAND,

F I N L A N D,

INCLUDING that part of it which by conquest belongs to Russia, has in its figure some distant resemblance to the sector of a circle, the angle of which is formed by the two great arms of the Baltic, which are named the gulf of Bothnia and the gulf of Finland. On the northern side it is contiguous to Lapland, from which it can be supposed separated only by imaginary lines. Its natural limits, but not at present its political, toward Russia are the gulf of Finland, the lake Ladoga, the Onega, and the southern continuation of the Scandinavian Alps, which advance with diminished height to the vicinity of the Onega.

The surface of Finland is extremely uneven with hills and rocks of granite, this kind of rock forming the entire basis of the country. A chain of mountains fills the eastern border of East-Bothnia, separating that province from the rest of Finland. The rocks in form of shattered fragments, or, as it were, wrecks of mountains, are scattered over the land, the face of which is also overspread with vast forests, innumerable marshes and lakes. The last seem to be the most characteristic phenomenon in the face of Finland, as perhaps in no other country is so great a portion occupied by water. The lakes are generally sprinkled with islands, and many have a mutual communication. The lake of Saima, exclusively of its branches, extends between two and three hundred miles, discharging its redundant

Face.

Lakes.

redundant waters by a stream called the river Woxen into the Ladoga. The river Kymen, which by six mouths enters the gulf of Finland, is the outlet of the lake Pejende, which extends above a hundred miles.

Produce.

Amid the marshes, lakes, and forests of this country are many tracts of excellent land, fertile in pasturage, rye, barley, and oats : but wars have wasted Finland, whose culture at present seems not to raise enough of provisions for its people. Formerly reindeer were in universal use throughout Finland, but excepting the northern parts where these animals are still retained, the cattle are of the same kind as those of Sweden, as are also the vegetable productions. The chief exports are timber, pitch, and tar ; minerals not abounding, or not explored.

Division.

This country from its political situation is divided into two parts, subject to two different powers, Swedish Finland in the west, which belongs to Sweden, and Russian Finland in the east, which is subject to Russia. The latter was conquered from the Swedes, and ceded to the court of Russia by treaties made in the years 1721 and 1743. The boundary between these divisions is formed by the river Kymen, and a line drawn thence noreastward and norward to the common limits of Russian and Swedish Lapland. In all Finland are commonly reckoned eight provinces, Finland-proper, Nyland, Carelia, Kexholm, Savolaxia, Tavastia, East-Bothnia, and Cajania. To Russia belong Kexholm, Carelia, part of Sovolaxia, and some part of Cajania.

jania. The rest of the country is still united with
 Sweden. The people of Finland are considered as **Govern-**
 free in like manner as the Swedes; even those who **ment.**
 have fallen under the Russian government being
 suffered to retain at least the form of the privileges
 which they had enjoyed under the Swedish mo-
 narchy. They are said not to have any order of no-
 bility among them, nor any distinction of rank
 except what arises from wealth or offices under go-
 vernment.* Lutheranism with a mixture of Pagan **Religion.**
 superstitions is the religion of all those who are
 subject to the crown of Sweden, and of almost all
 those who are under the Russian dominion, as the
 court of Russia still permits the Lutheran to be the
 established mode of worship, though it has intro-
 duced the Greek religion.

The area of all Finland may contain forty-seven **Popula-**
 millions of English acres, and the number of its **tion.**
 inhabitants probably exceeds seven hundred and
 fifty thousand, for in 1776 the Swedish division
 contained above six hundred and ten thousand, and
 the Russian about a hundred and seventeen thou-
 sand. The towns are built like those of Sweden. **Towns.**
 The capital of Swedish Finland is Abo, seated in
 Finland-proper, on the point of the angle formed
 by the Bothnic and Finland gulfs, containing nine
 thousand inhabitants, and consisting mostly of red
 wooden houses. Its university, furnished with a
 library of three thousand volumes, has sometimes
 three hundred students. The capital of Russian

* Tooke's Russia, vol. i. p. 37.

Fortress.

Finland is Wiburg in Carelia, built also of wood, inhabited by about nine thousand persons, and furnished with a good harbor. The small town of Helsingfors, on a peninsula of the Finland gulf in the province of Nyland, is rendered remarkable by the vast Swedish fortress of Sweaborg, distant from it three miles and a half. This fortress, which had already in 1784 cost seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and required five hundred thousand more for its completion, with a garrison of twelve thousand men, consists of stupendous works founded on seven small rocky islands, which lie within the compass of four English miles, and form an excellent port for seventy ships of the line, and a smaller for ten frigates.*

People.

Excepting colonists from Sweden and Russia, the inhabitants of Finland are an aboriginal people, distinguished by the name of Finns, and are doubtless the posterity of the ancient Fenni described by Tacitus. These Fenni were the stock whence the Laplanders and many other people derive their origin. The Finns are of a middle size, and scarcely differ from the Laplanders in external appearance; but are more civilized, and more assimilated to the Swedes in their houses and manner of living. The inhabitants of towns wear the Swedish dress. That of the peasants is not very different. Most of these have on their feet a kind of shoes made of matting, which cost about a penny each pair; they wear rags twisted about the legs instead of stockings; breeches, a waistcoat, and a tight

* Cox, b. 10. c. 10.

coat girt with a leathern belt, in which are carried a large knife, keys, and instruments for striking fire. In Swedish Finland they shave the whole beard, but in the Russian territories some leave whiskers, and some the whole beard. The hair of the head hangs long and loose on the shoulders. The hat is in the Dutch fashion, but many wear caps of various forms. The female peasants have a kind of a shoe like that which is used by some of the Hottentots, consisting of a single piece of leather drawn over the toes like a sock. They have stockings, drawers, a petticoat, a small apron, a boddice with wide sleeves, a little gown without sleeves resembling a short and wide shift, girt with a sash which goes twice round the middle and is tied in a knot at one side, necklaces, ear-rings of a large size, and a kind of kerchief or mantle which covers the head, and hangs halfway down the back. When they dress more gaily, the kerchief passes under the girdle and falls to the heels. Ribbons also are drawn through the ear-rings and float upon the shoulders and shift-sleeves. In winter both sexes wrap themselves in sheep-skins, the wool inward.*

B E L G I U M,

DENOMINATED more commonly the Netherlands or Lowcountries, formerly also named Lower Germany, is a region of mostly a low position, Site.

* Tooke, vol. i. p. 35—52.

Coast.

confined between Germany, France, and the sea of Britain, much less remarkable for extent of surface than for the natural and acquired constitution of its soil, its early progress in the arts of wealth, and the events of its history. Its coast is broken, and in many parts mixed, as it were, with the waves of the sea, which in others has raised barriers against its own violence by coacervations of sand; as along the coast of the province of Holland, where the waves are repelled by continued rows of sandbanks twenty-five or thirty feet high in a length of twenty-five leagues; and as on the shores of Flanders, where hills of sand form a long concatenation. With some exceptions the harbors have not a sufficient depth of water to admit great ships without artificial aid to augment their buoyancy. The great inlet of Belgium is the Zuider-Zee, which widens within land into a gulf, and forms by a partial inundation a channel called the Ye, parted by a narrow neck of land from a lake named Harlem-meer, twelve miles long, and nine in breadth.

Contour.

Excepting some parts farthest to the south and farthest from the sea, which are diversified with hills, as the provinces of Namur and Luxemburg, with much of Brabant, Hainault, and some other tracts, Belgium is a vast plain or low flat, intersected by the great effluent channels of the Rhine, the Maese, the Schelde and many other streams, and bearing marks of a recent origin, of a gradual formation, by a composition of marine mud successively driven to the shores by norwesterly winds, and

and of sand successively conveyed in a series of ages by the floods of the great rivers from the countries of the Swisse and other elevated regions. An unexampled number of canals, serving as drains to the marshes, and as channels of a great inland navigation, intersect in all directions these low plains, many parts of which in the provinces of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, are lower than the level of sea, and would be quickly overwhelmed by a deluge of waters if they were not protected against inundation by huge dykes or ramparts of stone above fifty feet thick, which notwithstanding their bulk and solid contexture, have sometimes proved insufficient against the irruptions of the deep; so that an incessant struggle is maintained between the sea on one hand and the laborious people of these depressed regions on the other, the former prevailing in some parts, and in other the latter, who exclude the waves by new ramparts, and thus form new tracts of land. The hollowness or depression of the ground in these maritime provinces has been caused in great measure by the dykes which protect it; for the land, being recently formed and too soon inclosed, subsided as it consolidated, while it was prevented by these firm barriers from the reception of new strata or accessions of earth, which would otherwise have been conveyed to it by the floods.

These depressed regions abounded formerly in Rivers, lakes; but these have been drained, and their beds converted into productive land. Of the rivers which have contributed to augment the surface,
and

and still contribute to the convenience and advantage of the Netherlands, by their navigable streams, the greatest, as the Rhine, the Maese, and the Schelde, have their main sources in other countries, in more elevated regions; whence they descend into the plains of Belgium, and with the aggregate floods of innumerable streams glide through its low flats in broad channels to the sea of Britain. The Rhine, whose great accumulated stream divides into branches in the Belgian flats, has been already noticed in the first volume of this work. The Maese or Meuse rises in the French province of Lorraine, and gliding between beautifully romantic rocks and hills through Namur and other Belgic territories, receives in the low plains a branch of the Rhine, and enters the sea with a very broad channel. The Schelde or Escaut, a noble stream, deep, wide, and extensively navigable, has its prime source in the French territory of Picardy, but has most of its course in the Netherlands, a course of above two hundred English miles, and enters the sea by two great branches called the East and West Schelde, into which it is parted by the insulated tract of South-Beveland.

Air.

In air, temperature, and productions, Belgium scarcely differs from the neighbouring parts of Germany, but much in the two former from those parts of Britain which lie in the same climates, for it is hotter in summer, and so much colder in winter that the ice is often three feet thick, the harbors are frequently frozen to the interruption of commerce, and loaded carriages pass the canals
and

and rivers as on land. The severity of winter has commonly four months duration, yet in the low plains this is not perhaps the most unwelcome part of the year; for the air of these flats, damp as their soil, glooms with frequent fogs, and is insalubrious, until the frost clears the sky, and brings with it the healthiest, if not the most pleasant, season to the inhabitants, of whom great numbers of both sexes take the opportunity of skating on the ice.

The soil of the Netherlands is in general improved to a very uncommon degree, particularly in the province of Flanders where it is naturally rich, and in the northern marshy tracts, as Holland, where nature has performed but little, and industry almost all. Among its productions are vast quantities of excellent corn, much flax and madder, besides luxuriant pasturage which nourishes cattle to an extraordinary size. The last predominates in the low plains of the north, whose wet and spongy soil is less fit for grain. Here is made abundance of cheese and butter, and here in the rich meadows are fatted great herds of cattle imported lean from Denmark and other countries. The less depressed and less level tracts of the South contain many beds of coal, and some, as Luxembourg and Namur, large mines of iron and lead. The iron-works of Namur are particularly great. A mine of Calamine of an excellent quality, a metal by whose mixture with copper brass is produced, gives name to Mount Calamine in the province of Limburg. The low northern flats, consisting

sisting of clay, sand, and turf bog, are destitute of fossils, unless we give that name to turf, which with imported coal constitutes the fuel. By the cutting of turf numerous excavations have been formed, which commonly in a series of years become again full, and reproduce the same substance.

Area.

Exclusively of those large and fertile territories of the Netherlands, or Low Country provinces, which by conquest had become an established part of the dominion of France before the abolition of monarchy in that powerful state, Belgium extends in length two hundred and eighty English miles, in its greatest breadth near two hundred and twenty, in its least little more than seventy, and contains in area almost sixteen millions of English, or much less than ten millions of Irish acres. This exten-

**Popula-
tion.**

sive tract, for the greater part richly cultivated, displaying a beautiful and fertile scene of numerous towns, highly improved fields, rivers, canals, and plantations of trees, is inhabited by near five millions of souls, distributed with no great inequality, but most thickly in Flanders and Holland, and most thinly in the large province of Luxemburg.

Division.

Belgium in its full extent contained the seventeen provinces of Brabant, Antwerp, Malines or Mechlin, Limburg, Luxemburg, Namur, Hainault, Cambresis, Artois, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, Guelderland, and Utrecht. Of these the latter seven are termed the Dutch or United Provinces. The former ten were heretofore denominated the Spanish Netherlands, but by political events displayed in their history have

have since assumed the name of the Austrian and French Netherlands, a great portion of them having been by conquest incorporated with the French monarchy, which portion is to be considered only in the historical part of this work.

Excepting a small territory eastward of the History. Rhine belonging to ancient Germany, the Netherlands constituted anciently a part of the vast region of Gallia or Gaul, and were inhabited by tribes of the Belgæ or Belgians, who occupied the country from the Rhine to the Seine and Marne, and who, notwithstanding their German or Gothic origin, were by implication denominated Galli or Gauls, a name which properly belonged to a very different race of people. Belgium long followed the general fortune of Gaul, subjugated by the Romans, and in the decline of their empire seized by the Batavians, Franks, and other Gothic or Scythian clans of the same grand race with the Belgians.

Here as elsewhere the offices of the governors appointed by Charlemagne for the administration of the provinces under the titles of duke, marquis, or count, became in succeeding times, under the feeble successors of that mighty monarch, hereditary and independent, or paying hardly more than a nominal obeisance. To establish their assumed power on a firmer basis these new princes admitted the nobles and dignified ecclesiastics, who possessed the greater part of the lands, into a participation of authority. Meantime the advantage of a situation, favourable at once for maritime and inland commerce,

commerce, in a central part of the European coasts, and on the effluent channels of great navigable rivers, was not altogether neglected by the reflecting and persevering, though phlegmatic, inhabitants. Traffic augmented the towns in magnitude and number, while the princes, at variance among themselves, possessed of too little force each in his own territory to stifle a rising spirit of liberty, and standing in need of money from their subjects, who, when they imparted the fruits of their industry, sometimes bargained for the rights of man in return, suffered a free constitution to arise in which the towns, as well as the nobles and prelates, had considerable privileges.

Thus even in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when intellectual darkness and feudal slavery debased almost all the rest of Europe, the Netherlands enjoyed a considerable degree of political freedom and of its concomitant prosperity. The principalities or little hereditary monarchies, into which these countries were divided, partook in their administration much more of the republican than the monarchal spirit, and each city was a kind of commonwealth governed by its own magistrates and laws, under the protection of the prince, but not always under his controul. As commercial industry had given rise to liberty, so the latter in return protected and cherished the former in its progressive augmentation. The numbers of ships employed in traffic, the variety and extent of the manufactures, particularly in Flanders and Brabant, the multitude of hands engaged in the occupations

of

of industry, the improvement of the lands by an active and spirited agriculture, which here made its earliest and most vigorous advances, and the numerous, great, and wealthy cities, were objects of surprize and admiration to foreigners. Bruges and Antwerp were great emporiums inferior only to Venice. The woven fabrics of Louvain, of Ypres, and of other towns, particularly Ghent which surpassed the rest in extent and population, gave employment to many thousands. The wool of England was imported into Belgium in its raw state, and there worked into cloth for the supply of Britain and other countries.

This flourishing state of the Belgic provinces was farther heightened by their union under one prince, an event which gradually took place, and was, with a small exception, completed before the middle of the fifteenth century. Philip, fourth son of John king of France, was, in the middle of the fourteenth century, created duke of Burgundy by his father on the extinction of a former ducal house, and afterwards, marrying Margaret heiress of Flanders, united that opulent earldom or county, and with it Artois, to his dutchy. The heiress of Flanders by her descent from the dukes of Brabant opened a way also to the succession of that province. Antony, the second son of the same Philip, having in this right obtained Brabant, and being afterwards killed in the battle of Agincourt in the year 1415, transmitted, by his son who died without issue, the inheritance of that powerful dutchy to Philip duke of Burgundy surnamed the good,

Burgundian
Union.

good, grandson of the former Philip and son of John surnamed the fearless. Philip the good, by means very inconsistent with that title, fraud and force, wrested the provinces of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, from the beautiful Jacoba or Jacqueline, countess of Hainault, his cousin german. Thus, with the omission of smaller subsidiary events, were the Netherlands, except Utrecht with Overysfel and Groningen, united under the dominion of the duke of Burgundy, who to give them the appearance of one state, instituted a high court of justice at Mechlin, to which appeals might be carried from the provincial courts.

Austrian
Subjec-
tion.

On the death of Charles the bold in 1477, the last sovereign-duke of Burgundy and son of Philip the good, this dutchy was dismembered from the Netherlands, and these became subject to the arch-ducal house of Austria, a house which, in great measure by this acquisition, became afterwards so formidable. Charles the bold leaving no male issue, the splendid inheritance of his wealthy dominions descended to his daughter Mary, whom Lewis the eleventh of France attempted immediately to deprive of all her territories by force of arms aided by insidious negotiations. The dutchy of Burgundy was soon conquered and annexed to the French monarchy, but the crafty and ambitious Lewis, who, by a simple and direct procedure, a matrimonial alliance, might have united the whole of these opulent regions to his kingdom, lost by his refined policy that important opportunity.

Mary

Mary gave her hand in marriage to Maximilian archduke of Austria, son of the emperor Frederic the third, the junction of whose force with that of the Belgic states terrified Lewis into a peace and a dereliction of farther attempts to conquer the Netherlands.

The sovereignty of the Netherlands descended by right of primogeniture to the son of Maximilian Philip the handsome, archduke of Austria, who, espousing Joanna heiress of Spain, added that then potent kingdom to the other possessions of the Austrian family.* The inheritance of the Belgic and Spanish dominions devolved in the year 1516 to the son of Philip, Charles of Ghent, who, on the death of his grandfather Maximilian in 1519, became emperor of Germany under the name of Charles the fifth, a name which by his military exploits and schemes of ambition he rendered famous or infamous in the annals of Europe. Under the successive reigns of Maximilian, Philip, and Charles, the Netherlands continued to advance in wealth and population. The glory of Antwerp arose, and surpassed not only that of Bruges, but of every other European city. Charles annexed to the rest of Belgium what small part had remained separate, and finally completed the union of these flourishing provinces. But though Charles, born in the Netherlands, loved and cherished the Belgians as his

* This fortune of the Austrian archducal family gave occasion to this distich,

Bella gerant alii, tu, fœlix Austria, nube;
Nam quæ Mars aliis dat tibi regna Venus.

countrymen,

countrymen, they yet began in his reign to feel the danger to which a free people are exposed under the protection of a powerful monarch. On pretence of a sedition he deprived of its free constitution his native city Ghent, and he exercised throughout the Netherlands an arbitrary jurisdiction for the suppression of religious innovation, the doctrines of the reformers having early found their way into these countries, and gained many proselytes. Such was the severity of his administration in this respect, that, according to a moderate and probable estimate not less than fifty thousand persons were in his reign executed for their religious opinions.* But it was reserved for his son and successor, Philip the second, to carry persecution to its ultimate pitch, and to drive by despair a peaceful and phlegmatic people into a resistance which terminated in the humiliation of the Spanish monarchy.

On the voluntary abdication of his immense dominions by Charles the fifth, and his retreat from the busy scene of political intrigue to a secluded monastery in Spain in the year 1556, the formidable house of Austria became divided into two great branches, the Germanic and the Spanish; Ferdinand the brother of Charles retaining the imperial crown of Germany, and Philip the second inheriting the Spanish and Belgic dominions. The narrow and black soul of this gloomy tyrant, inflamed by an infernal spirit of bigotry, actuated by a dishonest ambition, and adopting a dark insidious

* Watson's History of Philip the Second, book 3.
policy,

policy, determined by means of Spanish armies and other engines of tyranny to exterminate the new religious opinions in the Low Countries, to annihilate the liberties of the Belgians, and to erect on the ruins of their free constitutions an unqualified system of despotism. After an ineffectual persecution of the Belgian protestants, Philip for the accomplishment of his detestable purpose chose what he regarded as the fittest instrument, a congenial soul, Ferdinand de Toledo, duke of Alva, a man of consummate cruelty, nefarious principles, and, unfortunately for the happiness of mankind, possessed of high military talents.

This execrable monster, one of the foulest characters which history records to the shame of human nature, entering on the government of the Netherlands with a veteran army of Spaniards in the year 1567, commenced a career of almost unparalleled tyranny. All those inestimable privileges which these flourishing provinces had for ages enjoyed, the gift of so many princes, and the cause of their unrivaled prosperity, were abolished; arbitrary and murderous tribunals erected, and maintained by military violence; multitudes of all ranks and ages dragged into dungeons, consigned to death, or terrified into exile; thousands consumed by slow fires for heresy in the most horrible torments, their tongues previously seared with a red hot iron to prevent their speaking in testimony of their faith to the surrounding spectators, and screwed into an instrument contrived with diabolical skill for a consummation of their agony;

on

on every side confiscation, imprisonment, torture, and death; on every side lamentation, flight, and dismay.

An incident, of which the great Elizabeth of England made advantage, brought the rigors of Alva's administration to extremity. "Foreseeing that the violent government of Alva could not long subsist without exciting some commotion, she ventured to commit an insult upon him, which she would have been cautious not to hazard against a more established authority. Some Genoese merchants had engaged by contract with Philip to transport into Flanders the sum of four hundred thousand crowns; and the vessels, on which this money was embarked, had been attacked in the channel by some privateers equipped by the French Hugonots, and had taken shelter in Plymouth and Southampton. The commanders of the ships pretended that the money belonged to the king of Spain; but the queen, finding upon enquiry that it was the property of Genoese merchants, took possession of it as a loan, and by that means deprived the duke of Alva of this resource in the time of his greatest necessity. Alva in revenge seized all the English merchants in the Low Countries, threw them into prison, and confiscated their effects. The queen retaliated by a like violence on the Flemish and Spanish merchants, and gave all the English liberty to make reprisals on the subjects of Philip.

These differences were afterwards accommodated by treaty, and mutual reparations were made to the

the merchants; but nothing could repair the loss which so well-timed a blow inflicted on the Spanish government in the Low Countries. Alva, in want of money, and dreading the immediate mutiny of his troops, to whom great arrears were due, imposed by his arbitrary will the most ruinous taxes on the people. He not only required the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all immoveable goods: he also demanded the tenth of all moveable goods on every sale; an absurd tyranny, which would not only have destroyed all arts and commerce, but even have restrained the common intercourse of life. The people refused compliance; the duke had recourse to his usual expedient of hanging; and thus matters came still nearer the last extremity between the Flemings and the Spaniards.*

As on one hand Elizabeth had by a voluntary act occasioned the duke of Alva to carry to the height the oppressions of his government, so, on the other, she, near four years after by an involuntary compliance, drove a part of the Belgians to the desperate resolution of attacking the Spanish army, and thereby gave the immediate cause to that memorable war which holds so conspicuous a place in the history of modern Europe. Some of the Belgian exiles had equipped privateers which annoyed the Spanish commerce. The ambassador of Spain remonstrated with Elizabeth against the admission of these predatory ships into her ports, where they disposed of their numerous prizes.

* Hume's History of England, vol. 5. chap. 41.

The queen, unwilling at that time to come to open rupture with the formidable power of the Spanish monarchy, interdicted the reception of these armed vessels in the harbors of England. Alva and the Spanish court exulted in what they regarded as a fatal stroke to this hostile party; but, as it commonly happens to politicians, who are generally the shallowest of mankind, the consequences were of a nature quite opposite to their expectations.

Dutch
Revolt.

These valiant fugitives, forlorn, and destitute of a port in which they might find shelter, collected their force, returned with desperate resolution to their native country, and, seizing the town of Brille in the isle of Voorn at the mouth of the Maese, excited a general insurrection in the provinces of Zealand and Holland. These provinces expelling the Spaniards from almost all their towns, chose for their supreme magistrate and commander William of Nassau prince of Orange, who had fled from the violence of Alva, abandoning his estates in Belgium, and taking refuge in those which he held in Germany. Thus commenced in the year 1572 that famous war which raged in the Netherlands with various fortune thirty-six years, in which force, treachery, and stratagem, were to the utmost exerted, and in which the good and bad qualities of the human mind were eminently displayed; heroic valor, dastard cowardice; impregnable fidelity, the vilest treachery; the noblest candor, the basest duplicity; obstinate perseverance, impatient fickleness; the strictest honor, the meanest evasion; generous humanity, savage cruelty.

Never

Never appeared in the beginning a more unequal contest: on one side the mighty monarchy of Spain, then the most potent of all Christian powers, enriched by industry at home, by the mines of South-America from abroad, commanding the obedience of near thirty millions* of souls in Spain, Italy, and Belgium, and maintaining the most formidable military force in Europe under the conduct of generals of the greatest experience and the highest abilities: on the other the obscure provinces of Holland and Zealand, reclaimed from absolute sterility by the mere force of industry and labor, much inferior in area to the counties of Cork and Kerry in Ireland, or to two thirds of Yorkshire in Britain, containing probably not more than half a million of people, and these unacquainted with war, mostly merchants and manufacturers, already much exhausted by the exactions of Spanish tyranny, and placing their whole dependance in the bravery of despair, strict union, close œconomy, the fortifications of their towns, their naval force, and the defensible nature of their country, intersected by inlets, and capable of being here and there inundated where necessity should require such a sacrifice.

Alva instantly without loss of time strained every nerve to reduce the revolters, and the Spanish

* Spain is supposed to have at that time contained twenty millions of souls, among whom, unlike their present posterity, industry subsisted. The kingdom of Naples, the island of Sicily, and the dutchy of Milan, were beside the Netherlands, under the Spanish dominion.

troops in the cause of religious and civil slavery displayed a most adventurous and daring spirit; but the resistance was obstinate: the conquest of Haerlem cost him some thousands of his finest troops, and the murder of the brave garrison, contrary to capitulation, after a desperate defence caused a still more desperate defence at Alcaer, where the Spaniards were repulsed. This brutal governor, finding that the flame, which his cruelty had excited, could not by his utmost efforts be extinguished, solicited his recall, and made his exit from the Netherlands in 1573, boasting with the horrible joy of a fiend or malevolent spirit, that in five years and a half, the duration of his government in these provinces, he had put to death more than eighteen thousand heretics by the hands of the public executioner, beside a far greater number slain in battle, or butchered in cold blood.

A particular narration of the various events of this extraordinary war, which might afford an instructive lesson to states and statesmen, can not here have place. Among the causes of preservation to the revolted provinces one was the superiority of their naval force in their inlets and rivers, which they maintained with little interruption throughout the war, and which served much to the defence of the towns already in their interest, and to gain others to their alliance: thus Amsterdam, which long rejected the confederacy, was forced into it by a naval blockade in the year 1578. Another cause of preservation was the mutinous disposition of the Spanish troops from want of regular pay, for
Philip,

Philip, notwithstanding his great revenues, was not always able to make the necessary remittances. The most dreadful of the mutinies of these insolent soldiers took place in 1576, after the death of Requesens the successor of Alva, when, renouncing the command of their generals, they abandoned the conquests which they had made, and resolving to enrich themselves by plunder, pillaged Maastricht, and afterwards the immensely opulent city of Antwerp, torturing and butchering several thousands of the inhabitants. Convinced by the fate of these unfortunate cities of their insecurity under the Spanish government, and dreading universal depredation, all the provinces which had remained under Philip, excepting Luxemburg, united for mutual defence, called to their assistance the Hollanders or Dutch and the prince of Orange, and formed a league, denominated the pacification of Guent, for the expulsion of foreign troops, and the restoration of their ancient liberties.

Detestable religious bigotry, prevalent both with catholics and protestants, seconded by Spanish intrigue, and the jealousy of some leading men, rendered ineffectual this promising union. The confederates, instead of expelling the common enemy, committed reciprocal acts of hostility among themselves; and Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, one of the ablest and most accomplished commanders, whom history has recorded, succeeding to the government of the Netherlands, on the death of Don John of Austria, in 1579, gained those Belgians who were distinguished by the appellation of Walloons

Walloons to the Spanish interest, and entered into a treaty with them for the subjugation of the other provinces. As a counterpoise to this confederacy, which had been foreseen by the Prince of Orange, a new treaty of alliance was formed the same year by the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, Friesland, Brabant, and Flanders.

Union of
Utrecht.

"This alliance was called the union of Utrecht from the place where it was brought to a conclusion. It may justly be considered as the first foundation of the republic of the United Provinces. It is still regarded as containing the fundamental laws of the constitution, and proves its author by the wisdom, moderation, and extensive views, which it discovers."* Among other articles it was agreed that the provinces should be united into one political body, renouncing for ever the power of separating, but severally reserving the rights which each possessed before; that the general states should not conclude any peace, nor truce, nor undertake any war, nor impose any taxes, without the consent of the majority of all the provinces and towns of the union; and that no town or province should enter into any alliance with any foreign power without the consent of the generality. Yet, notwithstanding this union, and the fierce hostilities in which they had so long been engaged against the armies of Philip, the revolted provinces made no formal renunciation of his authority before the year 1581.

In 1584 the Prince of Orange, the sagacious,

* Watson's Philip, book 15.

prudent,

prudent, and intrepid statesman, the generous and magnanimous protector of civil and religious freedom, one of the most amiable and highly estimable characters, of whom ancient or modern history preserves the memory, was assassinated by a villain named Balthazar Gerard a native of Burgundy. To this atrocious act, in the execution of which the miscreant sacrificed his own life, he had been instigated by an edict of proscription published by Philip in 1580, in which this base monarch promised a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns, and the honours of nobility, to whatever person should murder the Prince of Orange. To this was added another incentive, which with enthusiastic bigots might be still more powerful, a belief then inculcated by the Romish clergy, that eternal happiness in a future life awaited, as a recompence of their service to the church, the exterminators of great heretics; and such was the hope of this deluded wretch to the last moment of his existence.

Deprived of the counsels of this judicious leader, whose talents were admirably fitted for the management of the affairs of a people in such a situation, the United Provinces, which had already suffered a considerable diminution of territory from the success of the Prince of Parma's arms, were terrified with the apprehension of total conquest, and successively made a tender of the sovereignty of their country to the king of France and the queen of England, both of whom declined the dangerous offer. But the wise Elizabeth adopted a more generous and prudent measure than the acceptance of
the

the sovereignty. She concluded a treaty of alliance with the United Provinces as an independent state, and sent into their country an auxiliar army of six thousand men. Convinced that the reduction of the revolted provinces would be a preparatory step to a terrible attack on her own kingdom, she wisely and courageously determined to meet the danger abroad, and to retard in the Low Countries the progress of the Spanish arms. On this principle, and as the protectress of the protestant cause in opposition to Philip who had placed himself at the head of the catholics, she had before given assistance in money and men to the revolted Belgians, and now in the year 1585 resolved to wage a more open war, and bravely to oppose her comparatively little kingdom in an apparently very unequal contest to the then tremendous power of Spain, reinforced by the acquisition of Portugal and her wealthy appendages, holding in a kind of subject dependance almost all the states of Italy, commanding through the Germanic branch of the Austrian house the assistance of many princes of Germany, possessed of a potent interest, even in France, and threatening a speedy conquest of all Belgium. So mighty was the force of the Spanish monarchy at that time conceived to be, that the ruin of Elizabeth was considered as almost inevitable: "But when she saw an evident necessity she braved danger with magnanimous courage; and trusting to her own consummate wisdom, and to the affections, however divided, of her people, she prepared herself to resist, and even to assault the whole force of the catholic monarch:"

monarch :''* nor was she foiled by so great a foe, but in the noble contest proved victorious.

Notwithstanding the needful assistance afforded to the United States by the English queen, the Spanish arms in the Netherlands, directed by the superlative genius of Parma, continued to prevail, and gradually to reduce within narrower limits the territories of the confederates, till Prince Maurice of Nassau, son of the great and good William who had been murdered, taking the command of their forces in the year 1588, turned the scales of victory in their favor, and made a rapid progress in the reconquest of towns in Flanders and Brabant. This youthful hero, who commenced his course of glorious warfare at the age of twenty-one years, was inferior to his father in political abilities, but of a prime capacity for military command. He was however indebted for a part of his success to the temporary absence of Parma, who twice by command of his master conducted an army into France to assist in the civil wars of that kingdom against the great Henry the fourth. Parma, a man not only of exquisite military genius, but also of the strictest integrity, of humanity, and of courteous manners, an amiable character engaged in a detestable cause, expired in the year 1592; and, after a succession of other governors, Philip at length in 1598 made a formal resignation of the sovereignty of Belgium to the archduke Albert conjointly with his consort the infanta of Spain, the

* Hume's History of England, vol. 5. chap. 42.

daughter

daughter of Philip: but as these new sovereigns depended on the Spanish court for money and troops, and were regarded by the revolted states merely as deputies of the king of Spain, the affairs of the Low Countries were little changed by this arrangement.

In the same year a lingering, painful, and most loathsome disease put an end to the life of Philip, who, at his exit from a world in which he had caused so much misery, exhibited in his own person a most miserable and disgusting spectacle, humiliating to the pride of man. A ruinous war, which had already raged six and twenty years, he bequeathed to his son and successor Philip the third, with an empty treasury, and an impoverished and depopulated kingdom. The ministers of the new monarch made the utmost exertions to prosecute the war, and making peace with England in 1604, they hoped that by concentrating their whole force in the Netherlands they should be able at length to subdue the revolted states, particularly as their armies were commanded by the marquis of Spinola, in whom the genius of Parma seemed to have revived, and who proved a worthy antagonist to the heroic Maurice: but the great Spinola was one of the most earnest to recommend peace, and to confess the inability of Spain for the continuation of hostilities.

In the course of a desperate, sanguinary, and expensive contest of so many years continuance, which exhausted the blood and treasure of the great and opulent kingdom of Spain, the republic of the

United

United Provinces had been gradually augmented in population, wealth and power. The charms of civil and religious liberty attracted to her little territory new citizens of the most eligible kind. Vast numbers of the most industrious and wealthy inhabitants of Flanders and Brabant, the most populous and rich of all the Belgic provinces, migrated, when their country submitted to the Spanish arms, to the naturally barren provinces of Holland and Zealand, bringing to the new commonwealth a vast accession of talents, industry, and riches. A rigid œconomy, pervading every department in the administration of public and private affairs, confined within salutary bounds the expences of a vigorous and necessary war, and preserved from dilapidation the aggregate capital of the state, which annually encreased by unremitting industry exerted in a great variety of channels.

Among other branches of foreign traffic the Dutch had long been possessed of a carrying trade, or intermediate commerce, between the countries round the Baltic on one side and the great Spanish peninsula on the other, bringing from the former to the latter great quantities of corn and naval stores, and from the latter to the former not only fruits, wine, and other productions of Spain, but also the gold and silver of America, and the spices and other valuable merchandize which the Portuguese imported from southern Asia. This commerce not less necessary for Spain than for the Dutch, had long been permitted by the connivance of the Spanish court even after the revolt of the maritime

maritime provinces of Belgium; but at length Philip the second, in order to deprive his rebellious subjects of this source of wealth, totally prohibited the trade, and ordered all Dutch vessels which should enter his ports, under whatever neutral flags, to be seized, and their crews to be sent into slavery.

This, like other measures intended for the detriment of the rising commonwealth, turned ultimately to its advantage. The Dutch, no longer able to supply the northern countries with the productions of the Torrid Zone by the medium of Spanish and Portuguese emporiums, resolved to seek these valuable articles of commerce at the fountain-head, and, exploring their way into the Indian seas, their fleets attacked with success the ships and settlements of the Portuguese, who had become subjects of the Spanish monarch. Their first voyage for the opening of a trade with India was made in the year 1596, and they soon became masters of the greater part of that commerce. Their naval power became annually more formidable, and, instead of confining themselves to a defensive war, they infested the coasts of Spain, and burned the ships of the Catholic monarch in his own ports. Terrified by the naval enterprizes of the Dutch who rode triumphant on the ocean, and unable from a kingdom reduced from opulence to miserable poverty to raise adequate sums for the prosecution of hostilities, the court of Spain descended from its fastidious arrogance, treated with its rebellious subjects as with a free independent people, solicited, and almost

almost begged a peace, which, after much difficulty was at last concluded in form of a truce in the year 1609.

Thus ended this ever memorable contest of thirty-six years duration, the event of which was so diametrically opposite to what was expected, and to what indeed might reasonably be expected by superficial observers from the apparent strength of the contending parties; a contest in which an obscure, despised, and insulted people, inhabiting a small corner of a vast and potent empire, goaded into resistance by intolerable oppression, rose by the union of peaceful industry and martial prowess into a respectable and formidable state; while the great and dreaded monarchy, from whose tyranny they emancipated themselves by their valorous perseverance, sunk into the shadow of a mighty name. By this event Belgium became divided into two main portions; the Spanish or Austrian Netherlands, and the Dutch Netherlands or the country of the United States; of each of which grand portions or divisions a separate view is to be briefly taken.

T H E

AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS,

OR, as they were long called, the Spanish or Catholic Netherlands, consisted of those parts of Belgium, which, after the truce made with the Dutch republic

History.

republic in 1609, continued an appendage of the Spanish monarchy. This greater and fairer portion of Belgium, far more favored by nature, and, before the Dutch revolt, far more flourishing in the productions of art and industry, was in the course of thirty-six years war, by military exaction and by emigration, vastly reduced from its former state; the territory of the Dutch commonwealth, which had become the seat of liberty, becoming also the chief seat of that industry and wealth, for which the provinces of the Netherlands, particularly Flanders and Brabant, had been so famous. Philip the second a little before his death erected the Spanish Low Country provinces into a distinct principality in favor of his son-in-law Albert and daughter Isabella; but on the decease of these sovereigns the Catholic Netherlands reverted to the Spanish monarchy, and continued to form a part of the dominions of Spain till the extinction of the Spanish line of the house of Austria by the death of Charles the second, king of Spain, in the year 1701. In consequence of this event these provinces, after a general war in Europe, were consigned in 1713 to the Germanic, or Imperial branch of the house of Austria, and received the appellation of the Austrian Netherlands; but they were consigned with a diminished territory, for Lewis the fourteenth of France, who had invaded the Spanish Low Countries in 1667, and made repeated attempts to conquer them, was permitted to incorporate a great part of them with his kingdom of France; so that of the ten provinces which

ought

ought to constitute the Austrian Netherlands, only Division. those of Flanders, Brabant, Antwerp, Mechlin, Haynault, Namur, Limburg, and Luxemburg, could properly be said to bear that denomination. Nor even of these, excepting Antwerp, which has been long incorporated with Brabant, and Mechlin which is inclosed by the last province, has any one remained entire and unimpaired to the house of Austria. Such was the situation of affairs before the war with the French commonwealth in 1792.

The Austrian Low Countries thus contracted in Area. size contain in area scarcely four millions two hundred thousand Irish acres, or hardly more than six millions six hundred thousand English, and not much above two millions of inhabitants, who are Popula- distributed with some inequality, the densest popu- tion. lation having place in Flanders and Brabant, particularly the former, and the thinnest in Luxemburg. In these populous provinces the towns are surpriz- Face. ingly numerous, and "the rural scene presents here pleasing prospects on all sides, fields crowned with fruitful crops, meadows covered with numerous herds, neat and commodious farm-houses set singly or in groups, chearful and crouded villages embowered among trees, and divided from each other by small intervals. Between such fair landscapes wind the rivers and extend the clear canals of Flanders and Brabant. The bounty of the land is diffused in decent competence through all the multitude that inhabits it; and the looks of the laborer, his wholesome fare and neat dwelling, express that he has his share of that plenty with which

which his industry crowns the fields.”* In Luxemburg a less cultivated and lively scene is presented to the view, and some traces are still found, in this and the neighbouring countries, of the vast forest of the Ardennes, which formerly extended from the banks of the Moselle to the shores of the ocean. Some rude hills also appear in this province, but in Flanders not a hill is to be seen, unless we except mount Cassel, which, however, stands not within the bounds of the Austrian Netherlands, but within those of France.

Agriculture.

The beauties of these provinces, particularly Flanders, arise chiefly from agriculture, which formerly accompanied commerce and manufactures, and has survived in full vigor the decline of both, not having yielded even to the ravages of war. “Agriculture flourishes greatly in Brabant and Haynault, but it is in the province of Flanders that this art has attained its highest praise. The fields of Flanders never repose or lie fallow, yet the rich soil fails not to repay the care of the farmer by a constant succession of fruitful crops. Nor is he satisfied only with the crops which the summer ripens. Soon as the harvests are gathered, the earth receives again into its bosom new seeds or plants, and new crops of greens or vegetables arise, which cover the fields through the autumn and the winter months, till the spring warns to prepare the ground for the ensuing season. Such is the fertility which these lands derive from the

* Shaw's Austrian Netherlands. London, 1786, p. 141.

natural goodness of the soil, from the rich manure which numerous cities and villages bestow, and from excellent methods of agriculture, but above all from the patient toil of the husbandman, who labors in these fields with unceasing industry and pains. The farms in Flanders are small, rarely exceeding fifty acres, and frequently contracted within a narrower bound. The small extent of the farms has been thought, and not without reason, to have contributed much to the exact culture and populousness of Flanders. In a small farm each part seen by the eye of the master has its due tillage: the work of husbandry is chiefly performed by the farmer and his family, who spare no pains to cultivate that field which assures their subsistence. In a large farm many parts are overlooked or neglected, and a more negligent culture is bestowed by hired laborers, more remiss and less interested in the crop. The great farmer is placed in a state of higher plenty, and his dwelling, his furniture, and table, express his opulence; but while he enjoys this affluence, and while luxury gains admittance among a rank of men to whose condition it is ill suited, the populousness of the country decays, the number of industrious cultivators is diminished, and extreme indigence is often found in the dwellings of the cottagers who inhabit around.

The country of Wafs, a district lying along the northern bank of the Scheld below Ghent, is the pride of Flanders in respect of culture and population. Yet the soil of the country of Wafs is in many parts ungrateful, and equals not in general

the goodness of soil of other parts of Flanders: but, divided into slender heritages, and parcelled out into small farms, which often exceed not twenty acres, fertilized by rich manure, and subdued by the unceasing labor of the peasant, who here, imitating the gardener's skill, applies the spade and the hoe, no less than the plough, to the culture of his narrow field, this district surpasses all the tracts of this fruitful region in the abundance of its crops. A vast population is found in this territory, whose villages are equal to large cities. Saint-Nicholas and Lockeren, villages of the country of Wafes, contain each not less than ten thousand inhabitants."*

Com-
merce.

Manufactures and commerce, though prodigiously declined, have never been entirely banished from these provinces. They have even revived in some degree in the present century; but of the impediments of commerce one is the want of harbors; that of Ostend, the principal port, though improved with great labor and expence, being liable still to inconveniencies perhaps not removable: others have arisen from the nature of the government, as the prerogative which the sovereign has assumed of imposing duties on imports and exports by his own authority; and the old established custom of tolls levied on goods transported from one province to another. Among the manufactures is that of linen, which is said to be of so good a kind in Flanders, as not to be surpassed in its various branches by that of any other country. "The

* Shaw, p. 141—149.

fine flax of these provinces yields also the materials of that elegant manufacture, so well known by the name of the lace of Mechlin and Brussels. The invention of this art, which yields so fair an employment to female industry, is due to this country; and the natives of this land in this art, imitated in other lands, has not been equalled. It is said that above a hundred thousand persons are employed in this manufacture in Mechlin and Brabant. The lace of Brussels has long been distinguished by delicacy of design and workmanship.”*

From the manufactures and commerce in which Towns. Belgium so far exceeded other countries, its towns increased to such a degree in number and magnitude, that the Spanish army, which entered this country under the duke of Alva in the sixteenth century, exclaimed in astonishment that the whole of these provinces was one continued city. Their number still subsists, insomuch that in Austrian Flanders alone are near thirty cities, and in Brabant almost as many; but in splendor, population, and extent they are vastly diminished in the Austrian provinces from the decay of their efficient causes. The towns of these countries were distinguished into cities and bourgs: the former were walled and shut with gates; the latter open, and discriminated from villages only by their superior size. The cities were surrounded with fortifications of prodigious strength, but the emperor Joseph the second wisely ordered all except two to be dismantled. “These high works raised with so much labor and

* Shaw, p. 99, 100.

expencc are overthrown, the deep ditches are filled, and fruitful crops are already gathered from the ground which was possessed by bastions and ravelins. Of the many cities of the Flemish provinces Luxemburg alone, counted among the strongest fortresses of Europe, remains fortified toward France, and Antwerp toward Holland. The learned in the engineer's art behold with regret the demolition of these fortifications, masterpieces of the skill of Cohorn and Vauban : but they who love the repose of mankind are not displeased with a system which lessens the horrors of war, and exempts from some part of its calamities the industrious inhabitants of cities."* Situate on rivers, in fertile plains, and communicating by navigable canals, they were originally intended for seats of traffic, not places of strength; and now, divested of fortifications, and unable to stand a siege, they are exempt from the horrors of bombardment, and the evils of a blockade.

Brussels.

Brussels, bearing the epithet of noble, the capital of Brabant, is accounted the capital of the Austrian Netherlands, and is at present the most populous city of these provinces, the number of its inhabitants being a hundred thousand. It is a beautiful city, rising from a plain through which the river Senne passes, and ascending a gentle hill on whose eminence its fairest buildings are placed. "A spacious canal, a work of the sixteenth century, extends from Brussels, and joins the river Scheld, which yields a communication with Holland, and

* Shaw, p. 136—138.

by the canals of Flanders with the ocean. By this canal the city carries on a growing traffic; and at a distance from the ocean, where no navigable river passes, a port is seen crowded with vessels not of the smallest burden. The French, when masters of Brussels, respected the lofty trees of the Cours, or Allée Verte, which borders this spacious canal. The outlets of this city lead on all sides into a fair and fruitful country, stretched into plains or rising in gentle acclivities. The woods of Soigne at a small distance spread into a wide extent, whose pleasing scenes have afforded to the Flemish painters many subjects for their compositions.*

In Brabant also on the river Dyle stands Louvain, Louvain. styled Louvain the learned, formerly a city of prodigious population on account of its vast woollen manufactures, reported to have contained the incredible number of a hundred and fifty thousand workmen; but reduced from its greatness even so early as in the fourteenth century, when Wenceslaus, duke of Brabant, incensed at the tumults of the citizens, expelled and dispersed the manufacturers, and by this unwise and too rigorous punishment occasioned the fall of this great city. At present the whole number of its inhabitants is rated at forty thousand. Louvain consists of an interior and exterior town, the latter surrounding the former, and six times as large, but containing within the wide circuit of its walls many fields of corn, meadows, and orchards.

The capital of Flanders is Ghent, or Gand, de- Ghent.

* Shaw, p. 121, 122.

nominated

nominated the great, situate at the confluence of a number of rivers with the Scheld, and enjoying the benefit, beside others, of a remarkable canal which runs to Bruges and Ostend. The vast population of this extensive city, ten English miles in circuit within the walls, is reduced almost as low as forty thousand, though it could formerly furnish fifty thousand men for war. Among its remarkable edifices are the cathedral, the town house or Stadthouse, and the tower of Belfort, which erected in the middle of the city, affords an agreeable view over the whole.

Antwerp.

Antwerp, or Anvers, capital of a marquissate incorporated with Brabant, one of the four greatest cities of the Austrian Low Countries, happily seated on the Scheld, whose deep and capacious channel supplied a port for vessels of the greatest burthen, and accommodated with eight canals which carried ships to the doors of the merchants, rose to an astonishing pitch of splendor in the sixteenth century. It began to decline in the reign of the tyrannic Philip the second, and the final blow to its commerce was given by the Dutch in 1648, when after a successful war they forced the Spanish court to consent that Antwerp should no longer hold any communication with the sea by the navigation of the Scheld. Thus the noble port of this great emporium was rendered useless, receiving only trading barks from the rivers and canals of the Dutch provinces. Its inhabitants have decreased in number from above two hundred thousand to forty thousand, who having since the decay of their trade

adopted

adopted the most rigid œconomy, are said to have among them almost as many wealthy persons as are to be found in any city of Europe. Among the buildings, which serve to revive the memory of the ancient pride of this great commercial town, are the townhouse and the exchange: the latter was the first in Europe, and the model of those of London and Amsterdam.

Brabant, which contains the chief cities of Austrian Belgium, is that which of these provinces has enjoyed the most liberal and most accurately defined form of government. Each, governed in early times by a distinct sovereign, was an independent state, with a system of laws and a constitution of its own. "These provinces united in later times under the dominion of the same sovereign, have yet retained their original independence on each other, and preserved their particular laws and constitution, acknowledging their prince by no other title than that which belongs to him as the sovereign of each distinct state, duke of Brabant, count of Flanders or Namur." After the revolt of the Dutch, the tyrannic Philip was obliged to consent to the restoration of their privileges to the other provinces that he might retain their sovereignty. Thus those, who combat with success for liberty, procure benefits for those who are passive or unsuccessful. Philip, however, established the new and dangerous prerogative, retained by his successors of imposing arbitrary taxes on the articles of export and import. "Though the constitution of these states is not in all respects the same,

Government.

THE AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS.

same, yet as they have had the same original, and are founded on the same principles, a general resemblance may be found in the constitution of all. Among the provinces of the Low Countries Brabant has always held the pre-eminence. In tracing some of the principal lines of the constitution of Brabant, we may behold the main lines of the constitution of these provinces.

The great charter of the liberties of this province is named the *joyous entry* of Brabant; so named because the sovereign, when he enters on his government, binds himself by an oath to govern according to this great charter, on which are founded the happiness and security of his subjects. The joyous entry may be regarded as a compact between the Prince and the people. The rights and privileges claimed by the people are expressed in numerous articles, and the conditions are declared on which the people consent to yield obedience, and on which the prince is willing to reign. In this great instrument of liberty the powers of the states of the province are ascertained; the constitution of the tribunals and courts of justice is determined; the magistrates and great officers of the state are described; the general rights and franchises of all the citizens are recited in many important particulars; even their exercises and amusements are not omitted. A remarkable clause is added, that if the sovereign shall infringe any article of the joyous entry, his subjects shall be released from service and duty till due reparation be made. These engagements are made publicly at

Brussels

Brussels at the inauguration of the prince, and in presence of the states of the province.

The states form an essential and important part of the constitution of Brabant, and a great support of its liberty. The states are composed of the three orders, the clergy, the nobles, and the third estate, as it is called, or the commons. Two prelates and eleven abbots form the order of the clergy, which has been esteemed the first order in the states. The nobles make the second order. The entry into the states is not open to all without distinction who are noble by birth, nor is it in the power of the prince to introduce those whom he ennobles into this assembly. The nobles who enter into the states must exhibit proofs that their family has been noble during four descents on both sides, and must also possess estates in Brabant of a certain yearly value in proportion to their rank, as duke, count, or baron. The nobles who enter into the states, according to this description, have not exceeded of late years the number of thirty. The third estate, or the commons, are represented by deputies chosen from the magistrates of the three principal cities of Brabant, Brussels, Louvain, and Antwerp. These representatives are in all seven. Anciently other cities in Brabant have exercised their right of sending representatives also.

The states are assembled at Brussels. I speak of the state of affairs before the conquest of this country by the French republic. It is the important privilege of the states, that no tax can be imposed, or subsidy granted, without their consent and authority.

thority. The care with which the constitution has provided, that the gift of the public money should not be too rashly made, deserves to be remarked. When the sovereign requires a subsidy, his requisition is presented to the states in the respectful form of a petition. The states deliberate; and the clergy and nobles, if they give their consent, consent in these terms, provided that the third estate shall also consent. But the deputies of the cities can give no consent, till they have collected the sense of the cities which they represent. If the three principal cities are unanimous in their consent, (which is determined in each by the majority of suffrages of a representative council or chamber) the subsidy is granted, but their common consent is required. *With such care has the constitution of Brabant provided, that the people shall not be too rashly loaded with oppressive taxes, and that the representatives of the commons shall not be too lavish and complaisant in their grant of public money.*

Personal liberty and security, as well as property, are well guarded by the constitution of Brabant," in which very strict provisions are made for this most laudable purpose, not necessary to be here particularized. That magistrates may be less liable to undue influence, "the joyous entry excludes from the magistracy those who hold certain offices of profit and trust immediately under the prince. The magistrates of cities, and the magistrates of bourgs and villages, judge in civil as well as in criminal causes. In criminal their sentence is final; in civil an appeal lies to the great tribunal of the province,

province, the council of Brabant. A president, named by distinction chancellor of Brabant, and sixteen judges compose this tribunal. The judges, in case of vacancy are named by the sovereign out of a list presented by the council of three counsellors learned in the laws for each judge, and when named are not to be displaced. The jurisdiction of this tribunal, as a court of justice is extensive; but it is not confined to the administration of justice. The states of Brabant concur not with the sovereign in the enacting of laws, otherwise than by remonstrances which they may address to him; but the joyous entry ordains, that no edict or decree of the sovereign shall obtain the force of a law in Brabant till it has been examined and approved by the judges of this tribunal and subscribed by the chancellor of Brabant. Thus the legislative power of the prince, already limited by the provisions of the joyous entry, is still farther limited by the control which the constitution has placed in the council of Brabant,"* the members of which are sworn to subscribe no edict inconsistent with the joyous entry.

This brief sketch of the constitution of Brabant agrees in the most essential points with those of the other provinces, whose inhabitants in general have no "cause to repine, in comparing their situation with that of other countries, when they behold around them other nations who are subject to arbitrary sway, or nations who, *enjoying liberty, are yet oppressed with burthensome taxes*, from which these

* Shaw, p. 27—41.

provinces are happily exempt.* Perhaps it ought not to be omitted that when Maximilian of Austria obtained the sovereignty of the Netherlands, he caused them to be made a circle of the Germanic empire, under the title of the circle of Burgundy, at the diet of Worms in 1521; but all their privileges were preserved entire, and they acknowledged no jurisdiction of the empire; yet their envoy has a place at the general diet of Germany.

Religion. As the extirpation of heresy was the principal cause or pretence of those atrocities which caused the revolt and war of the Low Countries, so the Roman Catholic religion was exclusively established in those territories which were retained or recovered under the government of Spain. Such has the state of religion continued in these countries almost to the present time; the inhabitants are miserably superstitious and intolerant; and a full fourth of all the revenues of these provinces have been said to belong to ecclesiastics; but a great reformation was begun by the emperor Joseph the second, who gave a liberal toleration, and suppressed many of the smaller monasteries. "An institution of the religious kind which took its rise in these provinces, and is peculiar to them, is that of a female community named the Beguines. The Beguines dwell together in the same quarter of the city, wear the same simple habit, profess obedience to a superior, and dedicate a part of the day to devotion; but they seclude not themselves, like the nuns, from the world, and they retain the liberty of quitting the

Beguines.

* Shaw, p. 44, 45.

profession

profession of Beguines, and of entering into the married state when they think fit."*

From the state of religion in Austrian Belgium we can form no very favorable opinion of its literature. Letters were cultivated here at an earlier period than in France or Britain, and continued to be cultivated in a superior degree till the villainous reign of Philip the second. They survived even the horrors of that period, but the gloomy superstition of Spain, soon striking a deep root in these provinces, bewildered the mind and turned it from the path of science to vain and frivolous pursuits. Of the ignorance of learning which prevailed in these provinces from the middle of the last century, when bigotry had fully extinguished reason, take the following instance. "A large work, entitled 'The Acts of the Saints,' and reciting in ample detail the holy exploits of all the saints of the Romish calendar, is cited among the brightest productions, at this time, of the Flemish genius. Of this stupendous work, begun by the learned Bollandus, whose name his successors in this task have retained, fifty huge volumes have already appeared, yet the work is unfinished,"† and I hope will remain so; for superstition has already received a wound, and reason begins to dawn through the murky fog. The spacious university of Louvain might, if reformed, become a great nursery of literature; but, as universities cannot easily be cleared of their inveterate rust, better expectations may

* Shaw, p. 208.

† Shaw, p. 217.

be entertained of the academy of Brussels, instituted in the reign of the beautiful, but bigoted Maria Theresa.

Inhabi-
tants.

The inhabitants of Belgium are descended from the ancient Belgæ, with a mixture of some other tribes mostly of the same great Scythic or German origin. The appellation of Flemings, which in strictness of speech belonged only to the people of Flanders, was used by foreigners to signify all the inhabitants of the Low Countries collectively, as the name of Flanders was extended to comprehend all the provinces. In a somewhat more limited

Lan-
guage.

sense the denomination of Flemings was given to those whose vulgar speech is the Flemish language, in contradistinction to those who speak the Walloon tongue. The latter is antiquated French, called Romance, Gaulois, Walleis, and Walloon; more harsh and rude than the modern French, but more bold and energetic. Artois, which no longer belongs to Belgium, Haynault, Namur, a large part of Brabant, with some adjacent districts of other provinces, constitute the country of the Walloons. The Flemish language, copious, bold, and energetic, but little refined or polished, approaches the English more than any other German dialect, and is in fact the main source of that language. The Flemish is the vernacular tongue of all Belgium except the Walloon territories; but in the Austrian Low Countries the French is coming so fast into general use, that probably before the lapse of many years the former will be spoken only by the vulgar.

As the Flemings are the descendants of the an-
cient

cient Belgians, from whom the English chiefly derive their origin, they resemble this nation in person and in natural disposition. Cardinal Bentivoglio, a writer of the sixteenth century, remarked that the fairness of their complexion corresponded with the candor of their minds; nor are their manners in this respect as yet much altered. They are in general rather more corpulent than the English, and as to customs and manners, they approximate so quickly to the French, particularly the Walloons, that it is unnecessary to say more on this head than that they still generally retain a laudable frugality and regularity of behavior.

Persons.

THE

DUTCH NETHERLANDS,

OR the United Provinces of the Low Countries, often also comprehended under the name of Holland, the name of the greatest province, were not considered, notwithstanding their emancipation from Spain, as completely independent before the year 1616. In that year the three cautionary towns of Flushing, Brille, and Rammekins, which had been delivered into the hands of Elizabeth to be held by the English crown as a security for the reimbursement of sums due from the Dutch government, were, by an agreement with James the first her successor, evacuated by the English garrisons, and

History.

and restored to the Dutch.* On the expiration of the truce, which had been concluded in 1609 for the space of twelve years, the war was renewed with Spain, and Maurice, who had in the time of peace tarnished his heroic fame by a tyrannic persecution of those who frustrated his ungenerous designs against the liberty of his country, again took the field, and was opposed by Spinola. In this war Holland gained some advantage by land, and was triumphant at sea. As an instance of her naval exertions I shall observe that one society of merchants, termed the West-India company, equipped in the space of twelve years eight hundred vessels, partly for war, and partly for merchandize, captured five hundred and forty-five ships, and conquered most of the vast regions of Brazil. The treaty of Munster in 1647 put an end to this train of hostilities by which the great kingdom of Spain was reduced to a still lower state of weakness.†

By severe œconomy, and patient unremitting labor, in the combined efforts of commerce and war, Holland acquired the greatest naval force in Europe, excepting that of England, and even to

* This act of James has been ignorantly censured by historians. It was an act conformable to justice and sound policy; for the keeping of expensive foreign garrisons can answer none but bad purposes. But are we to ascribe this just and politic act to the wisdom of James, or to his want of money to lavish on the unworthy minions of his court?

† The duration of the war between Holland and Spain is commonly reckoned eighty years. In this are included twelve years of truce, and the commencement is dated from the hostilities of the Flemish privateers in 1567.

this

this hardly inferior. With England she soon was forced to measure her maritime strength, being driven into war by the English parliament in 1652, and by Charles the second in 1665.

Interposing, in conjunction with other powers, to rescue from the rapacious talons of Lewis the fourteenth the dominions of the Spanish monarchy, which had formerly been the tyrannic mistress of the Dutch, afterwards their humiliated rival, and lastly an object of political favor for the preservation of the European balance, Holland incurred the resentment of the imperious Lewis, who formed with his unprincipled compeer, Charles the second of England, a league for the destruction of this most illustrious republic, the offspring of freedom and industry.* In 1672 assailed from the land by the vast armies of France, from the sea by the combined fleets of France and Britain, and rent by violent factions within herself, Holland seemed on the brink of inevitable ruin. Three of the Dutch provinces were quickly overrun by the formidable host of the French; but the fleet of the republic made a desperate, and not unsuccessful defence on its own coasts. The cool magnanimity and intrepid spirit of the Dutch was never more gloriously demonstrated than on this occasion. They resolved

* The danger of the British king's prerogative of making war by his sole authority was in this instance evident. It is well known by the treaties, then private, now public, made with Lewis, that Charles's object was to annihilate the liberties of his own subjects, as soon as the Dutch republic, whence the popular party in England might receive assistance, should be ruined.

to defend with obstinate valor every inch of ground, and even if the ground should "fail them on which they might combat, they were still resolved not to yield the generous strife; but flying to their settlements in the Indies, erect a new empire in those remote regions, and preserve alive even in the climates of slavery, that liberty of which Europe was become unworthy. Already they concerted measures for executing this extraordinary resolution, and found that the vessels contained in their harbors could transport above two hundred thousand inhabitants to the East-Indies."* William prince of Orange, afterwards the glorious William the third of England, the magnanimous defender of Dutch and British liberty, was the most active to rouse and to second the spirit of the Hollanders. By his efforts the dishonest views of the royal robbers were frustrated: the haughty Lewis was forced to evacuate the Dutch provinces, and the dissolute Charles to grant a peace. To pursue farther is unnecessary the history of this noble commonwealth, whose timely assistance in the last century restored or preserved the liberty of Britain, and whose decline in the present has been less absolute than relative; other countries, superior in natural advantages, having much improved in agriculture, wealth, and commerce, while in this respect Holland has been more stationary, and even somewhat retrograde, by a participation of others in those branches of trade which had been

* Hume's England, vol. 7. chap. 66.

formerly

formerly more confined to the management of the Dutch.

The territory of the Dutch commonwealth, as it Division.
was left after the wars with Spain and with Lewis the fourteenth, and remained till the attack of the French republic in 1792, consisted of the seven provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, Guelderland, and Utrecht, beside the small county of Drenthe, and the lands of the Generality, commonly called Dutch Brabant, or Dutch Flanders, which consist of a part of the province of Brabant, a small tract of Flanders, and a part of Limburg. The area of the seven provinces, Area.
including the islands on their coasts, contains somewhat above four millions and a half of Irish acres, or a little less than seven millions and a half of English, exclusively of the lands of the Generality, which contain about a fourth of that space of ground. The inhabitants of this last were about four hundred and thirty thousand in number, and Population.
those of the seven provinces above two millions and three hundred thousand; so that the people of the Dutch Netherlands amounted in all in the year 1785 to near two millions and seven hundred and sixty thousand, distributed in a hundred and thirteen towns, fourteen hundred villages, and a multitude of scattered houses. Of these so very populous provinces, Holland, which is the most extensive, is also the most densely inhabited; its area being little more than eleven hundred thousand Irish acres and its number of souls almost a million.

A country so swarmed with industrious occupants,

Face.

pants, exhibits, as it must be expected, a face of the highest culture and improvement. The magnificent cities built with striking symmetry, the neat and cleanly villages placed in so close proximity one to another, the huge dykes constructed to repel inundation, the luxuriant meadows grazed by great herds of cattle, the sumptuous canals planted with rows of trees, and the vessels gliding along the artificial or natural rivers in all directions, combine with corn-fields, gardens and other objects, to form a strangely blended landscape of houses, trees, fields, and water; a landscape, which at first view is extremely animated and pleasing, but in a little time becomes dull and tasteless from the want of variety in a continuous flat, where objects of the same appearance perpetually recur; the cities, villages, roads, and canals, being so similar as to seem all copies of the same models.* In Guelderland a

* Imbosomed in the deep where Holland lies;
Methinks her patient sons before me stand,
Where the broad ocean leans against the land,
And, sedulous to stop the coming tide,
Raise the tall rampier's artificial pride.
Onward, methinks, and diligently slow,
The firm compacted bulwark seems to grow,
Lift its broad arms amid the watery roar,
Stoop out an empire and usurp the shore,
While the pent ocean, rising o'er the pile,
Sees an amphibious world beneath him smile;
The slow canal, the yellow blossomed vale,
The willow-tufted bank, the gliding sail,
The crouded mart, the cultivated plain,
A new creation rescued from his reign.

GOLDSMITH'S TRAVELLER.

scenery

scenery somewhat different from that of the other provinces appears, a soil of sand, less flat, less rich, and intersected by few canals.

Similar in origin and almost similar in government, the Dutch and Swiss republics are quite contrasted in the nature of their territories; that of the former being a low-sunk uniform level, continuous to the ocean and menaced with its inundations; that of the latter a sublime region, uneven in the extreme, infinitely diversified, and remote from every sea. But the waters of the one, and the rocks of the other, have proved asylums of liberty, which has shined in both with conspicuous lustre, inspiring a desperate valor against armed slaves, and converting by indefatigable industry the barren desert into prolific soil.

The villages of the Dutch are eminently remarkable for prettyness and neatness; their cities for magnificence, symmetry, and beauty; and both for cleanness. The numerous cities have so strong a resemblance one to another, that to particularize more than a very few would be superfluous. Their streets are wide and handsome. They are mostly well fortified, surrounded with strong outworks, and defensible by occasional inundations. Through them great canals, embanked with quays, and planted with tall rows of trees, convey vessels of greater or less burthen, which receive or discharge their cargoes at the doors of the merchants; so that the branches of trees, the roofs of houses, and the streamers of shipping intermixed, strike the eye with a mingled landscape of town, sea, and country.

The

Amster-
dam.

The capital of Holland and of the Dutch Netherlands is Amsterdam, one of the most commercial, wealthy, and beautiful cities in the world, extending in form of a crescent on the Ye and the river Amstel, and containing about two hundred and fifty thousand souls. It is environed by a huge ditch or fosse and other works of defence. On account of its figure its area is less than what its circuit of twelve English miles might seem to promise. It is founded on great piles of wood, pine or fir, driven perpendicularly into the marshy ground, or into the sea, so closely compacted that no substance can be forced in between the beams, which thus form a very firm foundation. Thirteen thousand of these piles, of the value of nearly a hundred thousand pounds, constitute the basis of the Stadthouse, or town-house, which here, as in most Belgic cities, is the principal building, a magnificent and stupendous edifice, of a quadrangular form, in the center of the city, a hundred and ten paces long in front, built of freestone, incrusting with marble, the whole supposed to have cost nearly three hundred thousand British pounds.

Utrecht.

Utrecht, capital of its province, has been supposed the handsomest city of Europe, of nearly a square form, containing above thirty thousand inhabitants, and overlooked by a fine cathedral, the steeple of which commands a view into five of the seven united provinces.

Leyden.

Leyden, situate on a small branch of the Rhine which retains the name of that great river, and in such a labyrinth of rivers and canals that it is doubtful

doubtful whether the land or water occupies a greater space, is the second or third for magnitude of the towns of the province of Holland, containing about fifty thousand souls. It is divided by its canals into a great number of islands which are connected by near a hundred and fifty fine stone bridges, equally subservient to convenience and ornament.

Rotterdam, situate on the north bank of the Rotterdam. Maese, in the province of Holland, surrounded by wood, and overtopped by the heavy round tower of a church, contains about the same number of people as Leyden, is of a triangular figure, and admits by its deep canals vessels of great burthen into its interior parts, inasmuch that the town has been said to be all a harbor.

Hague, Haag, or the Hague, situate in the same Hague. province, with the uncommon advantage of a dry soil, commonly the seat of government of the Dutch Netherlands, is accounted a village, though it contains forty thousand inhabitants. The streets are uncommonly spacious and airy, and so ornamented with the rural beauties of trees and water, as to strike with the semblance of a real village.

To commerce the numerous, populous, and Com-
merce. splendid cities of the Dutch Netherlands owe their growth and support. A land as destitute of natural fertility as of minerals, and consisting of sand, moor, or fen, was incapable of maintaining a numerous people. Meliorated, as it is, to a high pitch of fertility, perhaps in most parts even meliorated to the very acmé of improvement, its extent
is

is too narrow for the multitude of its people, nor is it so well adapted to corn as to pasturage, the seasons and maritime situation being unfavorable to the former. Not a third, perhaps not a fifth, of the grain consumed in these provinces is the product of their soil; but their pastures teem with the most luxuriant herbage, and are grazed by numerous herds of neats, partly for the dairy, partly for the shambles. Here genuine industry, the offspring of political freedom, has clothed the brown heath with the richest verdure, and converted the noisome bogs into most prolific meadows. From the succulence of the pasturage the cattle grow to a great size, yet their beef and hides are less firm than those of South-Britain and Ireland. They are imported in vast numbers in a lean state, particularly from Denmark and Holstein, and soon acquire that corpulence which is the object of their purchasers. Nor is agriculture confined to the enriching of the meadows, and the raising of a partial supply of corn: it produces among other articles considerable quantities of madder, chiefly in the province of Zealand; the isle of Schowen alone yielding about two millions of pounds weight annually.

Though their land produces not the materials of manufactures nor of commerce, the indefatigable Hollanders prosecute both with unremitting labor to a great extent, and through such a variety of branches, that to particularize them would be to give a catalogue of the various departments of commercial and mechanical industry. Manufactures

tures have indeed been long in a state of decline on account of heavy taxes on the necessities of life, which have augmented the price of provisions, and consequently that of manufactured goods by raising too high the wages of the workmen. Commerce is also supposed to have declined; and doubtless by the great advances of other nations, particularly the English, in the prosecution of traffic, the Dutch are relatively sunk from their former high place in the commercial system. Some branches also have suffered an absolute decay: Yet the trade of the Hollanders, near half of which is supposed to center in Amsterdam, is still very great: they were still the most commercial and most wealthy people of Europe before their conquest by the French; they employ vast sums in traffic, and content themselves with lower profits than any other people. Too numerous for a narrow territory half sunk beneath the waters, and holding a precarious tenure of the land, (if I may use the hyperbolical, yet not unfounded style of some writers) they have adopted the ocean as their element, are a nation of mariners, and seek their sustenance from the deep. Their commerce is quite active: they have been, and still in some measure are the carriers of Europe, conveying to each country the products of others, and their ports may be regarded as the universal warehouses of the merchandise of all the quarters of the globe.

From the encreasing activity in the commerce of other nations the carrying trade of the Dutch is much diminished. Another declining branch is that

that of the fishery, particularly of herrings on the coasts of Britain, which in the seventeenth century gave employment to a multitude of men and boats,* but at present employs hardly two hundred small vessels, called *busses*, of about twenty-six tons each, and gains hardly a hundred thousand pounds of annual profit. The fishery of cod on the Dogger Bank, and near the coasts of Holland, seems not to have sustained much diminution, affording in times of peace occupation to about a hundred and forty vessels. The Dutch East-India company, which was instituted in the year 1602, and has served as the prototype and model of all such companies, has long been considered as in a declining state, though, as it still held, before the late conquest, a monopoly of cloves, nutmeg, mace, and cinnamon, its profits were great, amounting to about thirteen hundred thousand pounds annually, perhaps more, if an exact account could be obtained. Of these spices the company were said to make almost a cent-per-cent profit, and to bring to Europe yearly three hundred and sixty thousand pounds weight of cloves, two hundred and fifty thousand of nutmegs, and four hundred thousand of cinnamon.

* Opinions, which to me seem very improbable, are entertained concerning the immensity of the Dutch herring-fishery in the seventeenth century. It is said to have employed several thousands of *busses* or fishing vessels, and to have brought a clear annual profit of ten millions sterling. Yet Meynert Semyens, who wrote in the year 1639, states the number of *busses* at only 700. The accounts of Sir William Monson, and others who copied after him, seem greatly exaggerated.

Holland

Holland, being the center of commerce and pe- Wealth.
cuniary circulation, has held the standard of ex-
change, which it regulated for all Europe. Its
long accumulating capitals, too great to find vent
in trade, have overflowed into foreign and domestic
state loans. In the British funds alone it is said to
have forty millions of pounds sterling, and to draw
from Britain and other states an annual interest of
much more than two millions and a half. The
personal property of the Dutch, exclusively of their
stock in trade, furniture, and circulating cash, was
long ago estimated at a hundred and thirteen
millions.

For the convenience of exchange, and the regu- Bank.
lation of the currency, a bank was formed at Am-
sterdam in the year 1609, which has constantly
preserved the highest reputation. "The bank of
Amsterdam professes to lend out no part of what is
deposited in it, but, for every guilder for which
it gives credit in its books, to keep in its reposi-
taries the value of a guilder either in money or
bullion. That it keeps in its repositories all the
money or bullion for which there are receipts in
force, for which it is at all times liable to be called
upon, and which in reality is continually going
from it and returning to it again, cannot well be
doubted. The city is guarantee that it should be
so. Amid all the revolutions, which faction has
ever occasioned in the government of Amsterdam,
the prevailing party has at no time accused their
predecessors of infidelity in the administration of
the bank. No accusation could have affected more
deeply

deeply the reputation and fortune of the disgraced party, and if such an accusation could have been supported, we may be assured that it would have been brought."* Concerning the quantity of treasure contained in this noble bank, which has been for many years the great warehouse of Europe for bullion, we have no certain information, and can only form conjectures; by the most moderate supposition it is three millions sterling. The agio of this bank, or the difference of value between its notes and the current money, was five per cent. in favor of the former before the late attack of the French commonwealth in 1794.

Foreign
possession-
sions.

With the commerce of the Dutch their colonies and foreign possessions have the closest connection; these having been not only originally founded by trading companies, but still remaining also under their immediate government. Considering their number and the extent of their country, we must regard the foreign settlements of the Dutch as numerous and great. In the Indian seas they commanded so much of the great isle of Ceylon as to monopolize the trade of cinnamon; so many of the Moluccas as to monopolize that of cloves and nutmegs; the greater part of the extensive island of Java, where stands Batavia the capital of their Asiatic possessions; some settlements in Sumatra, some on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts of Hindostan, and a few factories in the gulf of Persia. In Africa they possessed some settlements

* Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. I. book 4. chap. 3.

on the Guinea coasts, and have colonized the Cape of Good Hope, whence they have extended their plantations four hundred miles northward into the continent. In the American seas they held the islands of Saint-Eustatia, Saba, and Curaçoa; and in Guiana on the American continent the colonies of Essequibo, Demerary, Surinam, and Berbice.

The commercial spirit, which the Dutch have imbibed, pervades their system of government. From commerce it arose, with commerce it is so connected that the ruin of the one would involve that of the other. The owners of great capitals, the great mercantile families, have commonly a direct share, or an indirect influence in the administration, and on this account prefer to all others this country for their residence, where yet a given sum brings less profit in trade, less interest when lent, and purchases less of the necessaries and conveniences of life, than in any other part of Europe. Had those princes of the house of Nassau, who wished to subject their country to their own arbitrary sway, succeeded in their ambitious projects, they would have been miserably frustrated in their ultimate view. Instead of a potent monarch at the head of an opulent nation, a despot of Holland would find himself a petty prince. Industry and wealth would fly from a land where freedom was no more; even the dykes, no longer repaired by that invincible labor which freemen alone can exert, would yield to the inundation, and despotism would restore to the waters those luxuriant fields which liberty had wrested from their empire.

The

The republic of the Dutch was a most complicated system, a congeries of confederate republics rather than a single commonwealth. Its basis was the union of Utrecht, already mentioned, nor has it essentially deviated from that institution. Seven sovereign provinces, confederated on equal terms, or in equal political rank, constituted a kind of heptarchy, or with the addition of the county of Drenthe, an octarchy, and each province was a combination of inferior powers and republics, separate, distinct, of equal rank among themselves, and various in their forms of interior administration. The supreme officer, or magistrate, who represented, as it were, the dignity of the confederation, and was generalissimo of its forces on land and sea, was the Stadtholder: the assembly of the States General, or of the deputies of the provinces, was with respect to foreign states the organ of its will, the representative of its authority, and sovereignty; but the real sovereignty resided ultimately in the component members of the provinces, the municipalities and powers of which they consist.

States-
General.

The assembly of the States-General, composed of deputies delegated from the confederate provinces, had its seat at the town of Hague, and commonly consisted of about fifty-eight members. Each province might depute any number of delegates, but the representatives of each province had all together only one vote in the resolutions of the assembly of the States-General, which consisted of seven voices, one for each of the seven provinces and the county of Drenthe. Neither the
Stadtholder,

Stadtholder, nor any other military officer was admissible as a member. The provinces presided in rotation, the principal deputy of each being president for a week in his turn. Some deputies held their places for one or more years, according to the different customs of particular provinces, and some for life, as the great Pensionary of Holland, who acted as ordinary deputy of that province, the greffier or secretary, the deputies from the nobles of Holland and Utrecht, and of the ecclesiastical body of the last province. The deputies were paid for their time and trouble, each by the province whence he was delegated.

The assembly of the States-General, addressed with the title of high and mighty lords, and styled in the third person their High Mightinesses, commanded with sovereign authority the arrangements in the lands of the Generality, or those territories which have been added by conquest to the United Provinces, having the direction of the troops, the nomination of the governors of towns, and, in some cases, of the magistrates: they also nominated the staff-officers of all the army, and ministers to foreign courts; they appointed to the offices of greffier or secretary, of treasurer-general, of receiver-general, and various other posts of honor or emolument. As the representative body of the confederacy with respect to foreign powers, the assembly of the States-General gave audience to ambassadors. It formed resolutions for alliances, for war and peace; but in these momentous points a unanimity of suffrages was necessary, a majority
not

not being conclusive; nor was the resolution valid before it was confirmed by the several principal assemblies, or states of each province, and ultimately by the municipalities in each of these; the members of the States-General not being plenipotentiaries of their respective provinces, but merely the organs of their resolutions.

Provincial
States.

The assemblies of provincial states, which represented severally the sovereignties of the particular provinces of the union, and without whose concurrence the resolutions of the States-General were of no efficacy, were composed of nobles and deputies of towns differently in the different provinces. The assembly of the States of Holland, held also at the town of Hague, consisted of nineteen voices, one of which was collectively given by the deputies delegated by the body of the nobility of the province, the rest in like manner by the deputies of eighteen towns. The speaker, or president, was the great Pensionary of Holland, who pronounced the opinion of the college of nobles, received and delivered the proposals of the towns, elucidated the deliberations by a summary of the arguments, and collected the suffrages of the assembly. In this, as in that of the States-General unanimity was necessary in matters of moment to make a decision. Its place was occasionally supplied, and it was convoked when expedient, by the council of deputies, which consisted of ten members, one delegated by the nobility, nine by the towns, and in which the great Pensionary likewise presided.

The constitution of Utrecht resembled that of
Holland,

Holland, except that here the ecclesiastical body formed a third member of the States, which was not the case in Holland. The states of Zealand consisted of seven voices, three of which were commanded by the Stadtholder as marquis of Terveer and Flushing, and as the sole representative of the nobility, all of whom fell in the Spanish wars. In Guelderland and Overysfel the nobles voted individually, not collectively, and in the former composed one half of the states. In Friesland three of the four voices, of which its states consisted, were held by deputies returned by persons possessing lands of a certain description. The states of Groningen consisted of the deputies of towns, and those of the flat country called Omme-landen; but the latter sent no delegates to the States-General.

The municipalities, little commonwealths, or Municipalities. towns, in which the sovereignty of the United-
Provinces ultimately resided, without whose unanimous consent neither the resolutions of the States-General, nor those of the provincial states, could have the force of law or be carried into efficacy, had all their distinct constitutions, usages, and laws; but, in general, each had its senate or legislative council, and its three orders of magistrates who shared among them the judicial and executive administration, consisting of a bailiff or chief magistrate, three, four, or such small number of burgomasters, and a small number also of echevins. These municipalities, though otherwise in the beginning, had long become by insensible degrees

entirely aristocratical. The whole administration in each was engrossed by a few families. The members of the several senates held their places for life, and nominated by their own election new members for vacant places. For the appointing of a magistrate the senate commonly presented two or three persons to the Stadtholder, out of whom he nominated one; but in the provinces of Guelderland, Utrecht, and Overysse, called provinces aux reglemens, the Stadtholder immediately nominated the magistrates without the intervention of the senates, and could remove them after a certain term of years. This regulation took place in consequence of a temporary separation of these provinces from the Union by the conquest of them by the French in 1672, and their re-admission into the confederacy. The senate of Amsterdam, consisting of thirty-six persons, appointed the bailiff and the four burgomasters without any reference to the Stadtholder, but the nine echevins were appointed by the Stadtholder out of a double number nominated by the senate.

State
Council.

Of the councils, or courts, charged with the administration of the public affairs of the confederacy, as the chamber of accounts, and the army and navy treasury, the principal was the council of state, instituted in 1584, and at first invested with more ample powers than ultimately. It consisted of twelve members, who voted personally, not collectively, and decided always by a majority of suffrages, deputed by the provinces in the same order in which these provinces voted in the assembly of the

the

the States-General, one from Guelderland, three from Holland, two from Zealand, one from Utrecht, two from Friesland, one from Overijssel, and two from Groningen. This council prepared estimates of the public revenues required for each ensuing year, and was charged with a considerable part of the executive power of the confederacy, particularly with respect to military affairs, of which it had the superintendence.

No small portion of the executive power was possessed by the Stadtholder, who was to be regarded as the first magistrate, not the sovereign, of this complicated system. This officer was originally governor of a province under the sovereign, and on the revolt of the Dutch was continued by the authority of the states, who assumed the sovereignty. The office of Stadtholder was abolished in 1667, but restored in 1672, and declared hereditary. On the death of the great William the third without an heir in 1702, it was discontinued till 1747, when, in a time of danger as before by a French invasion, it was restored in the person of William the fourth, who united for the first time the Stadtholderate of all the seven confederate provinces. This great magistracy was hereditary in both the male and female line. The powers of the Stadtholder were different in the different provinces. In general his prerogatives were small, but his influence, which pervaded every department, and which is more dangerous than prerogative, was great. He had a right of sitting, but not of voting, in the assembly of the States-General; he was the principal mem-

Stadtholder.

Grand
Pension-
ary.

ber of the council of state; and, as captain-general and high admiral, he possessed, notwithstanding certain formalities, the virtual patronage of the army and navy; having the direct nomination of all colonels and inferior officers, and the indirect appointment of the rest by recommendation to the States-General. In those times when the Stadtholderate was not in being, the great pensionary of Holland, the perpetual president of the states of that province, and perpetual deputy to the States-General, was the chief officer of the commonwealth, and, as it were, the soul of the confederacy, acting as minister of state, and the orator of the republic, in which he had alway a considerable influence.

Defects.

Among the defects of the Dutch system of government one was its aristocratical nature; the municipalities being quite aristocratical, consequently the assemblies of the provincial states which were composed of their deputies, and consequently the assembly of the States-General which was composed of deputies from the provincial states. It must however be confessed that as equity in administration, lenity in the use of power, condescension to the wishes of the people, and an exclusion of all offensive display of personal authority and grandeur, rendered at first the establishment of aristocracy insensible; so these qualities, which can be preserved only in a state where industry has its proper estimation, still rendered the patrician government more agreeable, or less disagreeable, among the Dutch than in any other nation except the Swisse.

The

The diffusion of the sovereign power into too many branches was a defect, and the too great independence of the members of the confederacy among themselves; for if one province should break the union no legal means of effective mediation were provided. The Stadtholder had too little prerogative and too much influence. The equality of suffrages was a defect; the smallest town having an equal vote with the greatest in the provincial states, and the smallest province with the greatest in the States-General. Some indeed, but not a due, superiority was allowed to the great province of Holland in the general councils, as in the council of state, where it had three out of twelve suffrages and in the secret committee, formed out of the deputies of the States-General for momentous considerations, under the presidency of the grand pensionary, where it had a double voice.

A system of government so heterogeneous, so Laws. contrasted to the uniformity of the country's face, implies a dissimilarity of laws and forms of procedure. Each municipality had its distinct ordinances and customs, and each province its particular code of laws, and its tribunal, which in certain cases admitted appeals from the municipal courts. In cases where the laws of the state were deficient, or not decisive on the point in question, recourse was had to what is called the Roman or civil law.

From the complexity of the political system the Revenue. mode was complex of raising the public revenue, which was to be regarded in a double view, as raised for the expenditure of the whole confederation,

tion, or for that of the provinces singly. The whole appears by the best accounts to have exceeded four millions and a half sterling, and to have fallen little short of five millions, perhaps to have exceeded that sum. The general finances of the confederacy arose from the lands of the Generality, or Dutch Brabant, from duties on exports and imports, from the sums paid by privileged trading companies, and from the annual contributions of the different provinces. For the last each province, as a sovereign state, raised its quota in its own manner, but by the rules of the confederation was assessed in a certain proportion. Thus, supposing the whole sum to consist of a hundred equal parts, Holland paid about fifty-eight, Guelderland about five and a half, Zealand nine, Utrecht five and three fourths, Overijssel three and a half, Friesland eleven and a half, Groningen five and three fourths, and the country of Drenthe not quite one. Notwithstanding the pacific system of policy pursued by the Dutch commonwealth, as a state subsisting by commerce and industry, it has been forced into ruinous wars by the ambitious monarchs in its neighbourhood, and had before the French conquest incurred a national debt of above a hundred millions. Most of the money is due to subjects of the republic, and the interest is low; the Dutch government borrowing at two per cent.

Public
Debt.

Forces.

That the power of a state depends not solely on its extent of territory and number of inhabitants, but in a high degree also on the industry, œconomy, and riches of its people, is evident from the history

history of the Dutch republic, which has formerly supported, and might in case of necessity still support, fleets and armies of a formidable force. It has employed in times of hostility an army of above sixty thousand men, and a fleet of a hundred great ships of war beside smaller vessels. The army consisted of foreigners, and in time of peace amounted to between thirty and forty thousand men. The nature of the country, and its improvement by art, render it defensible by a smaller against a greater body of troops; the frontiers and cities being protected by innumerable sluices, which admit, when opened on occasion, such rapid and great inundations as render the access impracticable or very difficult. The fleet, which in 1784 was composed of forty-three ships of the line and as many frigates, is divided into three squadrons, which are stationed in the ports of Zealand, that of Rotterdam, and that of Texel. The last serves as the port of Amsterdam for great ships; the harbor of Amsterdam, on account of a bar, not admitting such vessels without the aid of a machine called a cameel, which is a kind of great receptacle or tub, composed of two separate parts drawn together and braced by cables under the ship's bottom, so as to inclose it in a case, and render it more buoyant by eleven feet of water.

With a liberal toleration of other sects, Calvinism, which was established by the same revolution which gave liberty to the Dutch, is the established religion of the United Provinces. As in other Calvinistical establishments, a parity of clergy takes place :

Religion.

place: the church is governed by subordinate synods, and a national synod at their head, under the control of the assembly of the States-General, which was the real head of the church as well as state. The salaries of the clergy are small, as elsewhere among Calvinists: those of Amsterdam have each between two and three hundred pounds annually; too small a sum for the decent support of a family in that city. According to a late account, the number of ministers of the established church in the United Provinces is fifteen hundred and seventy-nine, of the Walloon Calvinistic church ninety, of the Lutheran fifty-three, of the Roman-Catholic eight hundred, of the Arminian forty-three, and of the Anabaptist three hundred and twelve. To the established church of the Dutch in their East-Indian settlements were said to belong forty-six ministers, in the West Indian only nine.

Univer-
sities.

For the instruction of candidates for the church, and the culture of various branches of literature, five universities are in the seven provinces, more frequented formerly than at present by foreigners, at Leyden, Franeker, Utrecht, Groeningen, and Harderwick; laudable in some of their institutions, but unendowed, and not sufficiently progressive with the general improvement of Europe. In the colleges, academies, and schools of these provinces, solid and useful learning has been much cultivated; and the printing presses of the Dutch, famous for accuracy and neatness of execution, have been employed in the publication of many foreign productions.

The

The Dutch were comprehended under the common denomination of Flemings by foreigners before they became by revolt a distinct people. They are of the same origin, speak the same language, called Flemish, Dutch, or Low-German, and differ from them in character only in consequence of their different political and ecclesiastical system. The French language is generally understood, except among the common people; great numbers of French having settled in Holland, particularly after the commencement of the religious persecutions under Lewis the fourteenth. In dress or habit the Dutch have no peculiarities which merit description. The gentry accommodate themselves to the fashions of France and the other neighbouring countries; and the common people are not singular in the use of dark frize coats, large breeches, small hats for the men, close jackets and great hats for the women, with a variety of other articles of attire, which have been observed among them by travellers.

The Dutch are in general of a heavy, cold, and slow genius; of more than German phlegm; but of admirable patience, perseverance, and firmness of mind; of unremitting industry, exact œconomy, and extraordinary cleanliness and neatness in their houses, lands, and furniture. As their talents are solid, not specious; as they possess not brilliancy of parts, nor the superficial attractions of external graces, their merit escapes the eye of the superficial observer, and can be estimated only by attention to facts. The history of their common-wealth

THE DUTCH NETHERLANDS.

wealth forms the eulogium of their character. Their qualities or endowments, how little soever striking, howsoever latent to the unreflecting part of mankind, have performed almost a miracle; have almost created a land, and gained an empire from the ocean; have against the obstacles of nature, and in the face of the most formidable opposition of man, produced a state, which in proportion to its size of territory was once the most considerable, and is still the most wealthy on the surface of our globe. Like the industrious beavers of North-America, which compose regular societies, and by united labor erect stupendous dams, and build commodious habitations in the waters, this amphibious nation has fixed the foundations of its numerous and splendid cities low amid the floods, protected by huge dikes and ramparts.

From a mercantile spirit, which gave birth and growth to the commonwealth of the Dutch, the principal features of their national character are traced. That character is marked by a close, indefatigable, unbroken industry, and an unremitting attention to œconomy, which has for its principle to make a yearly saving, or, where it is possible, to confine the expence to less than the income. When the attention is absorbed by these objects, on which alone each depends for his support and advancement in life, the blandishments of address, frivolous accomplishments, and unsubstantial qualifications, are neglected and despised. They are plain in their manners, void of affectation, sedate, circumspect, and hardly more profuse of words than

than of money. Among other unfounded claims of pre-eminence, nobleness of birth and loftiness of title have their portion of neglect; though the nobility of the United Provinces being fewer than those of the neighbouring countries, and consequently more distinguished, highly respect their own order, and confine their intermarriages within its pale.

As in human affairs the imperceptible, or faintly marked boundary between virtue and vice is always or mostly transgressed, the plainness of manners in the Dutch often degenerates into an unamiable bluntness, their industry into avarice, and their solidity of thinking into a contempt of estimable, as well as of frivolous qualifications. The noblest intellectual acquisitions or endowments are slightly valued, if they tend not immediately to the attainment of riches. As birth in other countries, so wealth in Holland usurps the place of merit. Pecuniary pride, which, however irrational, is less unsubstantially founded than pride of extraction, is among the most conspicuous imperfections of the Dutch, and an avarice which often seems to have for its ultimate object the mere possession, not the enjoyment of money.

A sober, dry, parsimonious way of living prevails in general among the Dutch: yet their œconomy is of the most laudable kind, an œconomy, which, however overstrained in innumerable instances, approaches in a collective consideration nearest to the standard of perfection. A spirit of moderation, of order, of exact arrangement predominates.

dominates. Their houses are not larger than necessity requires for comfortable accommodation; are perfectly neat and commodious, not vainly sumptuous: their villas elegant without tawdry magnificence: their entertainments, balls, and exhibitions decorously splendid without extravagant pomp or stolid parade. The genius of order and frugality, which pervades every department private and public, has a happy influence in the expenditure of the finances and the administration of public offices; these, which in Britain absorb such immense sums legally wrung from the reluctant hands of the industrious part of the community to pamper the corrupt, being better managed in Holland at comparatively no expence. The knowledge of this frugal expenditure, and the absence of insolent parade from men in power, have rendered the Dutch in general contented with that aristocratic form which their government had assumed.

The manners of the Dutch, excepting the traits already given, and such as are deducible from them, have so little distinctive or striking, as not to require farther discussion. With a spirit of order and œconomy that of neatness and cleanness is allied, and no people exceed, perhaps none equal the Dutch in the cleanness of their houses and furniture; but in personal cleanliness the common people are accounted somewhat deficient, and have been therefore compared to brooms, or sweeping brushes, which free every thing from dirt except themselves. The same class are reputed rude and uncomplaisant in their demeanor; but among the gentry

gentry many have that kind of politeness which ought perhaps to be most esteemed, a politeness connected with plainness and candor, destitute of insinuation and of imposing graces. This is particularly observable in the seat of government, the town of Hague, where a mode of civility and intercourse subsists, which appears to be a laudable medium between the excess and deficiency of politeness, the one or the other of which commonly takes place in other nations. Among the amusements of the Dutch I shall mention only that of skating on the ice, in which they are extremely expert, and to which their severe winter, and the nature of their country abounding in sluggish waters, are well fitted. Nor is skating confined to amusement: it is the mode of travelling in hard frost with the common people, who skim along the ice of the canals to market, and to other scenes of business, with amazing velocity.

SINCE all Belgium has been lately conquered by the arms of the French commonwealth, what may be the future complexion of affairs we cannot at present attempt to conjecture, except that most probably the inhabitants in general, Dutch, Flemings, and Walloons, will approximate more to the French in language and manners. That prodigious war, which involved the conquest of these flourishing provinces, was remotely occasioned by the revolution of France, where absolute monarchy

French
Conquest.

monarchy was suddenly abolished, and a new constitution framed. Encouraged by the distractions of the French, which seemed to promise a feeble resistance, and influenced by other motives, beside the hope of conquest, the Austrian monarch, Francis the second, emperor of Germany, resolved in concert with other powers on an invasion of the French territories. His answer to the questions of the French government, respecting his vast military arrangements, amounting to a virtual declaration of war, the Austrian Netherlands, with the rest of his dominions, in the year 1792, became engaged in the mighty contest, and soon were made a theatre of war.

The British ministry having entered into the vast coalition of powers, which was to conquer France, and to annihilate all restrictions of monarchical sway in Europe, the Stadtholder of the United Provinces was drawn by his connexions with the British court, and by his influence dragged his country into the fatal vortex, quite contrary to the general judgment and wishes of the Dutch nation, in the beginning of the year 1793. "Miserable is that nation where the individuals, and those of property and of rank in particular, are averse to thought and reflection; where a blind confidence is reposed in the ministers of the executive government; where the measures of statesmen are not watched with a jealous eye; where office and rank are supposed to confer talents; where specious pretences are held out to an indolent public, who suffer themselves tamely to be deluded and cajoled by the

meanest

meanest sophistry, and who only awake from their lethargy when they find themselves involved in an abyss of ruin."* After a series of dreadful battles, when the French republic was erected on the ruins of the monarchy, the armies of France penetrated into Belgium with decided superiority. In vain were the inhabitants most earnestly exhorted by their respective sovereigns, the emperor and the Stadtholder, to rise armed in a mass to oppose the invaders. If the hearts of the people had been engaged in favor of their then existing governments, if they had been previously conciliated by the kindness of their governors, doubtless seven or eight hundred thousand men, armed in defence of their country, aided by the Austrian, Prussian, and British armies, must have proved an insurmountable barrier to the progress of the enemy.

The people were deaf to these exhortations, disgusted by the unfeeling conduct of their governors, who had seemed wantonly to sacrifice the peace and happiness of their subjects to ill-grounded projects of puerile ambition. "How deplorable is the state of that government, where the approach of a hostile army is regarded more as an object of satisfaction than of abhorrence."† The hosts of France continued their progress in formidable force, those of the allied powers retreated from post to post with discomfiture and dismay. The emperor retired in despair from the Belgic provinces; the Stadtholder with difficulty escaped on the nine-

* New Annual Register for 1795, p. 168.

† Idem, p. 173.

teenth of January 1795, in an open boat, navigated only by three persons, which carried him to Britain. All Belgium submitted. The Dutch new modeled, at least for a time, their commonwealth under the protection of France, and were plundered of their ships and settlements by their former allies, the English, who had forced them into that war which brought upon them the conquering arms of the French republic. The Austrian Netherlands have also been made a part of the territory of France, and what is their future political destination is in the womb of time.

THE

DUTCH ISLANDS,

LYING on the coasts of Friesland, Holland, Flanders, and constituting the whole province of Zealand, are so politically incorporated with the neighbouring territories on the continent, and, being low, flat, and barricaded with huge dykes, so perfectly resemble them, as to preclude particular description. Those which lie on the coast of Friesland are too small for notice. Of those which belong to the province of Holland the most noted, but not the largest, is called the Texel, which has a very capacious, yet not a good harbor, serving as a port for Amsterdam to ships of great burthen. The isles which compose the province of Zealand are situate at the mouth of the Scheld. Among these

these are North-Beveland, South-Beveland, Walcheren, and Schowen. Walcheren, though not the largest, having hardly half the size of the isle of Wight, is the most considerable in population and wealth. It contains above forty thousand inhabitants, and four walled towns; of which Middleburg, one of the neatest cities of the Netherlands, is the principal, inhabited by above twenty thousand persons.

T A B L E O F B E L G I U M.

Countries.	Areas in square miles, (rather the proportion than the exact areas.)	Number of Inhabitants.	Towns.	Inhabitants.
<i>Austrian Netherlands,</i>	7,600	2,000,000	Brussels, Louvain, Antwerp, Malines, Ghent, Ostend, Mons, Namur, Luxemburg, Limburg,	100,000 40,000 40,000 20,000 40,000 15,000 10,000 20,000 8,000 8,000

TABLE OF BELGIUM.

Countries.	Areas.	Population.	Towns.	Inhabitants.
<i>Dutch Netherlands,</i>	10,000	2,760,000		
Guelderland,	1,840	—	Nimeguen,	12,000
Divided into the districts of Nimeguen,			Zutphen,	—
Zutphen and Arnheim.			Arnheim,	8,000
Holland,	2,000	1,000,000	Amsterdam,	250,000
Divided into North-			Rotterdam,	50,000
Holland, South-Hol-			Haag,	40,000
land, and West-Frief-			Leyden,	50,000
land.			Dordrecht,	19,000
			Haerlem,	39,000
			Delft,	20,000
			Alkmaer,	7,800
			Horn,	12,000
			Gouda,	17,000
Zealand,	480	100,000	Middleburg,	25,000
			Flushing,	8,000
Utrecht,	512	95,000	Zirkzee,	10,500
			Utrecht,	30,000
Friesland,	880	160,000	Amersfort,	—
			Lewarden,	—
Overysfel,	1,792		Franeker,	—
			Deventer,	—
Groningen,	640	116,000	Zwool,	—
			Groningen,	—
			Delfzil,	—
<i>Lands of the Generality,</i>	2,000	430,000	Bois-le-Duc,	12,000
			Breda,	9,500
			Bergen-op-Zoom,	6,500
			Maastricht,	18,000
			Venloo,	—
			Sluis,	—
			Hulft,	2,500

FRANCE,

F R A N C E,

BORDERING eastward on the Alps, the Jura, Site. the German territories and the Netherlands,* extends westward from these limits to the ocean and the bay of Biscay, along the British channel on one side, and along the Mediterranean sea and the Pyrenean chain of mountains on the other. The plan of the soil in this part of the continent may probably rise highest about the south of Cham- Contour. pagne; waters descending from this tract of country to supply all the chief rivers, except one, which flow through France. Principally from these we are enabled to explore the contour of the country.

Taking nature for guide some French geographers have divided their native region into what they call *bassins*, basons or vast hollows, in which lie the beds of the chief rivers and of their numerous hosts of auxiliar streams. These vast hollows, vallies, or plains, are separated one from another by chains of eminences, which in the language of the country are called *montagnes* or mountains, but which are mostly in the British idea merely hills, many of them of but little elevation. Scarcely any mountains are to be found in France except in

* Since the writing of the above the boundaries of France have been extended eastward by the conquests of the French republic, comprehending Nice and Savoy on the side of Italy, the Austrian Netherlands, and parts of Germany westward of the Rhine.

the south eastern provinces of Dauphiné, Provence, Auvergne, and Languedoc, and a chain of no great height in the eastern line, which extends not so far north as the fiftieth degree of latitude. The rest of the country consists of hills, vallies, and plains variously extended. Of the last some expand, particularly in the north, to a great width. Of the hills in the south, as in Limosin, some rise to a mountainous height; but from their easy acclivity, and cultivation reaching to their summits, are not of a mountainous aspect.

Moun-
tains.

The Jura, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, which touch the borders of this region, belong not to France, as they only serve to form a line of division between this and other countries. The lofty chain of the Pyrenees, which branches and spreads to the south, filling great part of Spain with its ramifications, extends from sea to sea with a far more even base on the side of France, where it ends in moderate hills, and displays with its broken line of snowy summits a sublime and beautiful object visible at the distance of a hundred and fifty miles.*

The most northern mountains of France are those of Vauge, the Mons Vogesus or Vosagus Saltus of the ancient Romans, which, tending from the vicinity of Langres in Champagne first eastward and then northward in a length of two hundred miles, divide the province of Lorraine from those of Franche-comté and Alsace, and sink into the plains of the Netherlands about the electorate of Treves.

* Younge's Travels in France. Dub. 1793, vol. 1. p. 38.

The extensive chain of the Vauze is of no great height, and far inferior to the mountains of the southeasterly provinces. These form a concatenation of groups, no otherwise connected with the Pyrenees than by the medium of moderate hills, but communicating more continuously with the Alps. They are supposed to occupy about two thirds of the province of Dauphiné, three fourths of Auvergne, at least half of Provence, and seven eighths of Languedoc.* The most noted chain assumes in its way through the last named province the denomination of the Cevennes. The mountains of Auvergne have a volcanic aspect. The highest, or among the highest, is the Mont d'Or, the Duranius of the Latins, which has an altitude of more than two thousand and sixty yards. Another named the Puy-de-Domme rises above sixteen hundred and twenty yards.† The mountains of Auvergne seem to be the highest in France; but some in the neighbouring parts have uncommon features. Among these is the Montagne de la Coupe, on the river Ardesche in lower Languedoc, an extinct volcano in form of a cone, its base abounding in columnar basalts, its crater nine hundred and fifty feet in diameter and six hundred in depth.

The chief rivers of France, flowing in the bottoms of those vast and irregular vallies, into which Rivers.

* Younge, vol. 2. p. 94.

† Geographie de Busching, tom. 5. p. 566. a la Haye, 1770. Description de la France par Piganiol de la Force, tome 11. p.

nature and philosophical geographers have divided this great country, are the Rhone, the Garonne, the Loire, and the Seine. The Rhone, whose course is not quite confined within the limits of France, has been already described in the general view prefixed to this work.* The Garonne anciently named Garumna, has its main source in the Pyrenees above the county of Comminges, whence it flows to the bay of Biscay through a course of near four hundred miles, conferring less beauty than it receives from the scenes through which it glides, navigable by small vessels near three hundred miles from the town of Muret, and augmented by the auxiliar floods of the Neth, Arriege, Tar, Gers, Baize, Lot, Drot, Sare, Girnone, Rize, Dordogne, and other streams. From the conflux of the last, above which the tide runs to Saint Macaire eighty miles from the sea, the Garonne loses its former name and assumes that of Gironde, forming a broad and deep channel above fifty miles in length bearing ships of great burthen.

The Loire, the Ligeris of the Latins, which conveys in its long channel to the bay of Biscay the waters of the rivers Allier, Cher, Indre, Vienne, Sarthe, Maienne, and Seurre, meanders from its prime fountain in the mountains of Vivarais in Languedoc above five hundred miles, navigable, but not at all seasons, by small vessels from Roanne in Forez, near four hundred miles to its mouth, forming in its way from Angers to Nantes one of the most beautiful streams in the world; its

* See vol. 1. p. 41.

broad majestic channel tufted with woody islets and bordered with a noble scenery of rich cultivated land; but exhibiting in the rest of its vast course a far less pleasing current, turbid with sand and shingle, and sometimes swollen with formidable floods. The Seine, or in the old Latin appellation Sequana, which bears to the British Channel the tributary waters of the Yonne, the Loing, the Marne, the Oise, and the Eure, rises near Charteaux in the high lands of Burgundy, and runs between three and four hundred miles, navigable by barges from Troyes to its mouth about two hundred and fifty miles, and every where forming so agreeable an object with its winding stream and bordering fields as to be accounted the finest river of France.

Few lakes, and none of considerable magnitude, are found in this large region. Several dipping streams, but of no striking character, might be enumerated. Among the rivers of inferior size perhaps the Sorgue, which falls into the Rhone in the county of Venaissin is most worthy of notice, not for its magnitude, in which it is exceeded by a multitude of others, but for the celebrity of its fountain, that of Vaucluse, whence almost all its waters flow. This beautiful fountain, immortalized by Petrarch, lies at the foot of an enormous mass of perpendicular rock, where, as if from the depth of a great funnel, a whole river issues at once to the light, and suddenly becoming tranquil as a pond, rests its azure waters in a capacious

* Younge, v. 2. p. 23. Letters of H. M. Williams, let. 29.
basin

bafon on a bed refembling emerald; whence escaping by a narrow vent it falls in a cascade, and meanders with broken and foaming streams through the delightfully romantic valley of Vauclufe,* which, deep and overhung with rocks, winds in form of a horfe's shoe. After its egress from this valley the river forms a more united stream under the appellation of Sorgue, dividing the beautiful fields of Avignon.†

Canals.

The inland navigation of France, admitted by its great rivers through the heart of the country, is farther extended by artificial canals made by some of the French monarchs, who deigned to expend a small portion of the public money on works of utility. The greatest is the royal canal of Languedoc, by which the Garonne, and consequently the ocean communicates with the Mediterranean, a truly great and stupendous work, begun in 1666 and finished in fourteen years by Lewis the fourteenth, in this instance the friend, in others the enemy, of mankind. This noble piece of artificial navigation, accomplished at the joint expence of the king and the province of Languedoc for about nine hundred thousand pounds, extends above a hundred miles from Toulouse to Cette, furnished with a hundred and fourteen locks, having every where above six feet in depth of water, and a breadth of near thirty, except where it forms a fubterraneous paffage through the hard hill of

* Perhaps derived from Vallis Claufa.

† Wraxall's Memoir and Tour of France, v. ii. p. 333, 334. Du Patty's Travels, p. 2.

Malpas in a length of six hundred feet, in which part its breadth is hardly more than twenty. Among a considerable number of others, which might be named, is the canal of Briare, with forty-two floodgates, forty miles long from Briare to Montargis, which opens a communication between the Loire and the Seine. Another is the canal of Picardy, which is not yet finished, but which, when completed, will have a subterranean navigation of nine English miles.*

Mineral waters of medicinal virtue are to be found in all the provinces of France, various in degree of temperature and species of impregnation. In the territory of Bigorre in the province of Gasconne are the celebrated springs of Bagneres, some warm, some cold, of different medicinal virtues, at the foot of the Pyrenees; and in the same territory, higher among the mountains, are the still more celebrated waters or baths of Barege. The warm fountains of La Mothe-Saint-Martin in Dauphiné, about fourteen miles to the south of Grenoble, salutary against the rheumatism, palsy, and disorders of the stomach, have more merit than celebrity. The town of Plombieres in Lorraine, where are stoves and baths for the use of patients, one of the latter fifty-four feet long and twenty-two broad, is much frequented for its waters, which at their source are hot enough to boil an egg. The most salutary waters in France are said to be those of Bourbon Lancy in Burgundy, where are seven springs in the suburb of Saint Leger, the

Medicinal
Springs.

* Younge, vol. i. p. 150.

water insipid, and in the principal fountain called the Grand-limbe, too warm for the hand to suffer immersion in it during two minutes. Many other sanative springs might be named if expediency required it, among which are those of Balaruc in Languedoc, of Aix in Provence, of Bourbonne in Champagne, of Bagnoles in Normandy, and of Boulogne in Picardy. At Saint-Amand in the French Netherlands, between Valenciennes and Tournay, are, beside two mineral springs of warm water, above a hundred baths of *boue*, or mud, inclosed within a wooden building, near the banks of the Scheld, and about forty feet lower than the bed of that river. This mud, in which patients lie immersed to the chin, is of a blackish or dark hue, raises the thermometer to sixty-three degrees, is so thick that a hole must be digged before a man can be forced down into it, emits a sulphureous or asphaltic odor like that of the neighbouring fountains, and has an unknown depth, at least more than twenty-eight feet.*

Soil.

In France as in other countries a diversity is discoverable in the nature of the soil or the substrata thereof, and some sorts are observed each to extend through a great space of territory. The southeasterly provinces, notwithstanding their mountainous face, abounding in fertile tracts, the best of which is the luxuriant vale of Limagne in Auvergne, which is a flat valley surrounded by great ranges of volcanic mountains, with a soil of a vast depth, some say twenty feet, composed of

* Ashe on Mineral Waters, p. 340—347.

the richest marle and mold. The predominant component, however, of the surface of these countries is gravel, rock, or stone of various kinds mostly calcareous with granite beneath. Even some flat grounds in these provinces present a stoney face, particularly in the coast of Provence, where an extraordinary instance is a plain called the Crau, situate to the southeast of the town of Arles, twenty miles in diameter, and containing two hundred and thirty thousand acres, completely covered with round stones of various magnitudes, many of the size of a man's head, between which a thin crop of grass forces its way.* A gravelly or stoney soil of a different kind spreads in a great extent through Franche-comté, Burgundy, and Lorraine, with, in several places, calcareous rock below or above the surface. Sand or gravel overspreads most of the level face of Bourbonnois and Nevernois, watered by the streams of the Loire. A deep gravel, or gravelly sand, of another sort and of little fertility, with little or no substratum of calcareous rock predominates in Bretagne.

A country of chalk extends through Champagne toward the southwest, and may stretch perhaps, without much, or without any interruption, to the chalks of Angoumois in a length of four hundred miles. Friable sandy loams overspread large tracts in many parts. They extend through La Marche and Limosin, with a calcareous bottom in some places, in others a substratum of granite. Inter-

* *Histoire Naturelle de la Provence*, vol. i. p. 290. Thick-
ness's Travels in France.

mixed with calcareous matter, and highly prolific, they form the surface of a charming plain which extends from the Garonne by Montauban and Toulouse to the foot of the Pyrenees. The plain of Alsace on the east, and the lower Poitou on the west, are blessed with this prolific species of soil; but the great country of mellow, friable, and richly generative loam, with a depth of from one or two to five and even eighteen feet, and a bottom of chalk, white marle, or other calcareous matter, is in the noreastern quarter of this extensive region, expanding from the neighbourhood of Caen, Alençon, and Orleans, with a breadth of about a hundred miles, noreastward in a length of two hundred miles through the French territories into the Netherlands.*

Air.

In the temperature, as in the soil, a considerable diversity takes place in France. This, in large part, the difference of climate is sufficient to cause, since the country extends through eight degrees of latitude; but it is here also, as elsewhere, in no small proportion ascribable to the difference of elevation and aspect, and the relative position of the lands with respect to mountains and salt water, the Mediterranean or the ocean, the Alps or the Pyrenees. A strong instance of the variation of temperature arising from a difference of elevations and aspects is this, that after the barley is reaped in the low maritime tracts of Provence at the end of May, the produce of this harvest is carried for seed to

* Younge, vol. ii. p. 5—25. He has given a map of the soils in his work.

the

the high lands of the same province, where it is sown in June, and the crop cut in October.*

As the most southern tracts, which rise to the Pyrenees and have a northern exposure, are less hot than the flat coasts of Provence washed by the Mediterranean, the chief difference in the temperature of the French atmosphere is found in these coasts and in the northern provinces of France which bound the British Channel. In the former the heats of summer are violent from the middle of July to the middle of September, sometimes so great as to be hardly supportable. Very little or no rain falls in June, July, or August; in some years not one shower in the space of six months. The withered fields display a russet brown, and yield but a sickly pasture to the herds. Flies in this season are by their multitudes a real torment, and scarcely suffer the inhabitants to breathe: but the temperature of winter is mild and even delicious; the months of December, January, and February, being the most agreeable part of the year. On the other hand, in the provinces which coast the British Channel, as Normandy and Bretagne, the quantity of snow and frost is greater than in South-Britain, the winter more severe, and, though the summer is evidently hotter than in any part of the British islands, the fields preserve a fine verdure throughout that season, the atmosphere is humid, and rain is not uncommon in any month.

The middle territories of France, among which are Touraine, Bourbonnois, and Limosin, seated

* Busching, vol. v. p. 71.

between the northern and southern provinces, are accounted the happiest part of this extensive region in point of atmosphere; exempt from the extremes of aridity and moisture, from sickening heats and long pinching frosts, enjoying a pure, light, elastic air, salubrious for every constitution except such as are consumptive.

These mid provinces, where they extend not too near the mountains in the east, are free from chilling and hot winds, by the former of which the eastern, and by the latter the southeastern, are incommoded. In the eastern parts from Burgundy inclusive blows a wind called the Bize, Maestrale, or Mistral, dry, cold, and penetrating, which sometimes brings such a sensation as if it pervaded and desiccated the human body. It blows from the mountains and varies its course by the contour of the country. In the southeastern provinces it blows from the north or northwest, taking its direction from the valley of the Rhone. This wind is commonly violent.* Its prevailing season is the spring, which it renders disagreeable. In winter it is rarely felt, but its visits are then terrible: Instances are known of men and cattle having been destroyed by it even in Provence. In summer, when it blows, it allays the violent heats, and has contrary effects to those of a hot, suffocating, insalubrious wind, called in Languedoc the Autan, which comes from about the southeast, and seems

* Some have distinguished the Bize from the Mistral, calling the latter Circius or Melamboreas according to ancient appellations, but I cannot see any sufficient reason for the distinction.

to be the same, only differently attempered, with the Scirocco of Italy.

The annual quantity of rain is greater in France, in proportion to its extent of surface, than in Britain; yet the air is much dryer, more especially in the middle and southern provinces, whose inhabitants are blessed with the comfort of a charmingly clear blue sky. In opposition to this and other advantages these provinces experience the calamitous effects of violent rains and hail. The latter is much more tremendous, not only making a total destruction of the corn where it falls, but also ravaging the vines and other trees, and sometimes falling so thick and heavy as to kill the geese and other fowl. Instances are given of the death of young colts in consequence of wounds received from the hail. Happily these wasteful showers are but partial, each pouring its fury only on a small tract; but the annual damage is great, amounting by computation in some of the southern provinces to a tenth of the whole produce on an average of years.*

The fruits and even crops of corn are also, but in a far inferior degree, subject to be injured by transient vernal and autumnal frosts, from which the most southern provinces are not exempt. These are apt to make their unseasonable visits so early as September and so late as the end of May.

* An extraordinary hail storm on Sunday the 13th of July 1788 swept a belt of irregular desolation across the country to the damage of several millions value. Some of the hailstones were said to weigh eight or ten ounces. Ann. Register, 1789.

In the lower Provence, which is the hottest part of France, white frosts are seen in March and sometimes in April. In the middle provinces of France, where the seasons are most temperate, the winter is sharp from November to March, the corn harvest is in July, and the vintage in October. The last commences in some parts of these before the end of September, which is earlier than in some more southern tracts, as Guienne and Gascogne.*

Vegeta-
bles.

The surest characteristics of its temperature are the vegetable productions of a country, whether of spontaneous growth, or subjects of productive culture. In France the vine, the maize, and the olive, mark the three principal gradations of the vegetative heat, as has been observed by a late intelligent traveller,† who has given us much useful information concerning this long celebrated region. From his remarks the generative heat is found to increase in a progression from the northwest toward the southeast. This is quite conformable to general observation, since in proportion as the land recedes from the ocean, the keenness of the winter frost and the genial heat of summer are found to augment.

A line drawn from Herbignac, between the mouths of the rivers Loire and Villaine in the province of Bretagne, and running thence, in a direction between east and northeast, through Laval in

* The best account of the French climate is given by Younge, vol. 2. p. 25—42. but several other both English and French writers have been consulted.

† Arthur Younge.

the province of Maine and Soissons in the province called the Isle of France, is the limit of the effective culture of the vine. In the country to the north of this limit, comprehending almost all Bretagne, all Normandy, Picardy, part of Maine, and part of the Isle of France, the grape grows not to profit, but apples, plumbs, cherries, and some other fruits, are produced in far greater quantity than in South-Britain. Throughout the rest of France the vineyard yields a profit. Farther to the south commences the maize, a plant of prime utility, furnishing in harvest a copious crop for the sustenance of man, in summer abundance of succulent leaves for food to cattle. The bounding line of the maize plantations on the northern side runs in a direction very nearly parallel to the former, from near the mouth of the river Gironde or Garonne by Ruffec in Angoumois, Bourges in Berry, and Luneville in Lorraine. All southward of these limits the maize accompanies the vine, and to both is added the olive in the southeastern quarter; but the region of this tree's culture is comparatively very small, containing only Provence with parts of Roussillon, of Languedoc, and of Dauphiné. Its boundary toward the north is a line almost parallel to the two already described, extending from the foot of the Pyrenean chain by Carcassone in Languedoc and Montelimart in Dauphiné, leaving Grenoble a little to the north.

The only part of France where oranges and lemons thrive in the open air is the territory of Hieres on the coast of Provence, and even there

they are subject to be damaged by frost. Olives are hardly cultivated on one acre out of fifty in the narrow region to which they are confined. The same is the only region of France favorable to the growth of the mulberry tree: it is found, however, in a few spots farther toward the north, but in very few beyond the limits of the maize plantations. The rich and beautiful verdure of the chestnut-tree adorns the high lands of the south, particularly the volcanic mountains of Auvergne. The orchards of the north yield excellent cider, but the most valuable fruit of French culture is the grape, which in many places is, and every where might be, managed in such manner as not to interfere with the production of corn, since it flourishes on rocky soils and steeps which admit not the plough. By a calculation, which pretends not to determine, but to approximate the truth, the vineyards of France are supposed to cover five millions of English acres, and to furnish annually on an average wine to the value of thirty-eight millions of British pounds for internal consumption and foreign export.*

The wines are various, and known abroad under various names. One of these is the claret, made in the south, as in the country of Medoc† and other territories in the vicinity of Bourdeaux. About Epernay in Champagne are the celebrated wines produced, which bear the name of that province. Burgundy also gives name to a famous

* Younge, vol. ii. p. 356.

† Wraxall, vol. ii. p. 267.

wine. The rich vineyards of this province extend along the bottom of a chain of hills in a southeasterly aspect, forming a most charming stripe of clear vivid green near a hundred miles in length and about a thousand yards broad. Their situation, in a kind of angle constituted by the hills and a vast plain, is the most advantageous from the double reflected heat; no vines planted higher or lower than this angle yielding wine of equal value.* I shall farther only remark concerning the juice of the grape in France that the wine called Hermitage is produced on the banks of the Rhone between Valence and Saint Valiere in Dauphiné, the Muscat in Languedoc, and the Pontac in Guienne.

Considerably superior to South-Britain both in soil and climate, France has hitherto, from political defects, been so inferior in agriculture as to yield much less corn in proportion to its area: but, since a revolution of government has taken place, we hope to see this default remedied when the nation shall have recovered its tranquillity. Nor has this great inferiority been universally, though very generally, conspicuous. Exceptions from the general charge have been found in Quercy and on the banks of the Garonne; but chiefly in countries which have been added by conquest to the French dominion, and in which a better husbandry had been previously established, as Alsace and the French Netherlands. The kinds of grain principally cultivated are wheat and rye: spring corn is

Saint John's Letters from France, vol. ii. Dublin, 1787.

of comparatively small value. Maize, where it thrives, is by much the most valuable subject of the husbandman's labor. Potatoes have been introduced in few places as in Lorraine and Franche-Comté, and their use will probably be rendered more general. Irrigation, or the artificial watering of land for the augmentation of its fertility, which might be much farther extended to the vast increase of the public produce, is practiced in some places, particularly in Provence, and the western mountainous tracts of Languedoc. The mountains are not in general to be considered as barren wastes, but are in some part cultivated, and elsewhere afford pasturage to great numbers of cattle.

In the tracts of the south, whose atmosphere is hot and dry, as Languedoc and Provence, the treading of cattle, instead of the flail, is used for the separation of the grain from the straw. The province of Bretagne is fertile in flax and hemp, as is also Burgundy, and some other eastern parts. Among the rarer plants I shall mention only the Pastel, Guesde, or Glastum, which before the discovery of indigo, was a vegetable of no small value, as it gives a fine permanent blue dye. It grows in Languedoc with a root somewhat like a long slender parsnip, and five or six large leaves about a foot long, which are cut close to the earth, ground into a paste, and formed into balls for exportation or domestic use.

* Memoires pour l'Histoire Naturel de Languedoc par Astruc, p. 520 & seq.

Since

Since hardly in an eighth part of France fossil coal is in use, and, except in a few small tracts, as Fuel. in part of Picardy, turf is unknown, its inhabitants depend almost wholly on wood for fuel, and wood of various kinds is supposed to cover between a sixth and a seventh part of its area, or, according to more precise statements, near nineteen millions of English acres. Among the forests is that of Orleans fifty English miles in extent. In some parts, particularly Bretagne, broom is sown for fuel, and suffered commonly to grow about four years before cutting. Broom faggots are so valuable, that the crop of an English acre often sells for above sixteen pounds.

The animals of France are like those of the Animals. neighbouring countries, and have little peculiar to be noted here. Horses of a large and robust frame are less numerous than in Germany or Britain. Such are said to be chiefly found in Normandy, Poitou, Burgundy, and Alsace. Mules and asses are much in use, particularly in the south, and laboring oxen not uncommon. Neither neats nor sheep are in such numbers as good husbandry might require. The latter furnish not wool enough for the various demands of the country; wool to the value of near twelve hundred thousand pounds being annually imported. The average weight of a French fleece washed clean from the grease is estimated at about two pounds and a half. Sheep are fed in winter on straw, and in some of the southern parts on the branches of trees cut and bound into faggots for store, particularly those of the elm.

About

About a million of migratory sheep, managed in the same manner as those of Spain, range on the crau of Provence in winter, and on the mountains in summer. The mountainous parts of France are infested by wolves, and in the southern provinces the shepherds dogs are armed against them, as in Spain, with a spiked collar about the neck.

Manufactures of wool, silk, flax, and cotton, in various branches, have been established on a most extensive scale, and have long flourished in France. These doubtless were formerly the greatest in Europe. They have declined in some measure since the year 1750, and have received a rude shock by the wars occasioned by the abolition of monarchy. Their future state must depend on the nature of the political system which shall have been established. Cottons are chiefly fabricated in Normandy; woollens in Normandy, Picardy, and Champagne; linens in Bretagne; silks, and also hardware, in the Lyonnais. The cloths are of a less twisted texture than the fine cloths of Britain, and consequently being of a more open and spongy nature, receive a deeper dye, and retain it longer, particularly black; yet the French dyers, though they excel in single colors, are commonly less successful in mixed. A peculiar kind of stuff is a coarse woollen cloth, called Pinchina, worn by the peasants of Bretagne, of so strong a texture that a coat of it often descends from one generation to another.*

By returns made before the revolution it appears

* Letters of H. M. Williams, let. 7.

that the value of woollen manufactured goods exported hardly equalled that of the imported wool. According to a German author* generally well informed, the manufacture of silk in the year 1773 gave employment to two millions of persons, the silk-mills were fifteen hundred in number, the looms for silk-stuffs twenty-one thousand, those for lace and ribbons twelve thousand, and those for silk stockings twenty thousand. Above eleven thousand looms for silk were at work in the city of Lyons alone in 1768. The quantity of raw silk produced in France is not very inconsiderable, two hundred thousand pounds weight being said to be annually collected in Languedoc, and not much less in Provence; yet it has been found not to supply above a third part of the demand; raw silk to the value of above twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling being annually imported, a great part from Piedmont in Italy. A few gloves and stockings have been manufactured from a kind of silk produced by a certain sort of spiders; but according to Reaumur's calculation, a pound of silk, which is procured from two thousand three hundred and four silk-worms, cannot be collected from fewer than twenty-seven thousand six hundred and forty-eight spiders.

Among the French manufactures are those of paper, porcelain, and glass. Essences and perfumes are chiefly made about Cannes in Provence, whence half of Europe is said to be supplied with these fragrant sweets. One of these is the otter of roses,

* Busching.

which

which is made here as well as in India. For the forming of a drop of this rich perfume, which is sold at the rate of above seventeen pounds sterling an ounce, fifteen hundred flowers are said to be required.

Com-
merce.

If agriculture, which ought to be the primary object of political œconomy in every territorial state, had been equally encouraged in France with its manufactures and commerce, its wealth and resources would have been far greater. To promote the two latter, which merit only a secondary regard, great exertions have been made. For commerce France enjoys a situation uncommonly advantageous, communicating by her ports with the Mediterranean, the ocean, and the sea of Britain. Some of her coasts, indeed, are less friendly to navigation. The harbors which are open to the British Channel admit not vessels of such magnitude as what are termed ships of the line: the coast of Roussillon offers only some incommodious places for anchorage; and that of Languedoc is the most dangerous of all on account of the sands and shallows of the bordering sea:* but the ports are numerous on the whole amount; stupendous works of art have been constructed to remedy their defects; and to them are brought the products of the

* It has been found that the Mediterranean gradually recedes from the coast of France. Frejus between Toulon and Antibes, which in the first century of the Christian era was a port, is now an inland town. The harbor of Aigues-Mortes, which was open in the thirteenth century, is now filled, and the town is four miles distant from the sea.

inmost provinces by the many navigable rivers and canals which intersect this extensive, compact, and finely situated space of continent.

The subjects of traffic in this great country are so numerous, complicated, and fluctuating, as not to be reducible to a specific statement here. Many of them are at once articles of export and import with a variable balance; but some from their preponderance rank permanently under the one or the other denomination. Several mines are worked, but never to such extent as to supply the consumption; so that iron, copper, tin, and other metals are annually imported. The value of these brought from abroad in a raw state in the year 1787 amounted to near nine hundred thousand pounds, and that of manufactured steel to above two hundred and fifteen thousand. In the same year oil of olives was imported to the value of above eight hundred and thirty thousand pounds, potashes to that of two hundred and forty thousand, and corn, which has hitherto been an article of importation, to that of five hundred thousand.

Of exportation salt has been a considerable subject, some say to the annual value of four hundred thousand pounds or more. Large quantities are made on the southern and western coasts from sea-water by solar evaporation, and in some of the interior provinces, particularly Lorraine and Burgundy, from springs of brine. The juice of the grape has contributed in considerable proportion to the French traffic; the value of wines and brandy annually exported having commonly amounted to
above

above seventeen hundred thousand pounds. To enter no farther into particulars, the value of manufactured silk exported in 1784 was near a million of pounds sterling; that of manufactured flax and hemp above eight hundred thousand; and that of perfumes and distilled waters above sixteen thousand.

The commerce of this great country has been on the whole amount active. Exclusively of Lorraine, Alsace, and the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, the value of her exports in 1787 was rated at above seventeen millions and a half of pounds sterling, and that of her imports so much less as to leave a balance of near two millions in her favor. Such balance however is always a matter of great uncertainty, nor can we ever safely rely on the accuracy of such returns. To give any thing like an accurate statement of the number of tons of French vessels employed in commerce is impossible, from the documents which have been published, since the same vessels, especially in the coasting trade, may have been repeatedly returned, as if they were different ships. By making a conjectural deduction from the statements published, and another conjecture of the proportion of seamen to the tunnage, we may not perhaps be far distant from the truth if we suppose the commercial shipping of France in the year 1788 to have consisted of twelve hundred thousand tons and to have carried near ninety thousand seamen. Above fifty thousand tons were employed in fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland and other foreign isles.

Dieppe

Dieppe in the province of Normandy was more deeply engaged than any other town of France in these fisheries; but the most commercial of all the French towns is Bourdeaux, which employed near eighty thousand tuns of shipping in the West Indian trade alone before the revolution, and exported in a year seventy thousand tuns of wine. What may be the trade of this great emporium and of all France under a new government we must await new statements to enable us to judge.

From a region of such dimensions, of a soil so Area. grateful, of a climate so favorable, and a situation so commodious for commercial exertions, what might not have been expected under a liberal system of political administration? Neither the length nor breadth of France in a diagonal mensuration falls far short of six hundred and thirty English or four hundred and ninety-two Irish miles; but its greatest length in a meridian line amounts not quite to five hundred and ninety of English, or four hundred and sixty-three of Irish measure; and its least breadth, from the Mediterranean to the bay of Biscay, exceeds not two hundred and thirty of the former miles, or a hundred and eighty of the latter. With respect to its area calculators have differed widely; but, abstracting from its inequalities, and considering the whole as a plain, it will be found hardly to contain a hundred and twenty millions of English or seventy-four millions of Irish acres.*

This

* The reader will easily observe that the state of France only before the revolution is here concerned. Its area and number of inhabitants

Division.

This great and remarkable compact extent of territory has been variously divided, as into sixteen districts of parlements and other sovereign courts, with regard to the political administration; into thirty-two generalities for the regulation of the finances; and into thirty-seven governments with respect to the military establishment. That which appears to be the best established geographical division is into the following fifty-one very unequal provinces: The Isle of France, Picardy, Brie, Champagne, Burgundy, Bresse, Bugey, Dauphiné, Provence, Languedoc, Foix, Comminges, Armagnac, Bigorre, Bearn, Pays des Basques, Gascogne, Guyenne, Saintonge, Poitou, Bretagne, Normandy, Perche, Beauce, Orleanois, Gatinois, Nivernois, Bourbonnois, Forez, Beaujolois, Lyonnois, Rouergue, Quercy, Agenois, Condomois, Bazadois, Perigord, Angoumois, Limosin, La Marche, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Blesois, Berry, Auvergne, the French Netherlands, Lorraine, Alsace, Franche Comté, and Roussillon. By the revolution France has undergone a more accurate and equal division into eighty-two departments, which will be stated in the tables of France at the end.

Population.

The national assembly, by whose authority this great country was divided into departments, caused a more accurate enumeration, than had ever before taken place to be made of the number of inhabitants, which in all France was found to exceed

inhabitants have since been augmented by conquest; but a statement of the whole cannot be here given till after a settlement shall have had place.

twenty.

twenty-six millions and two hundred thousand, dwelling in about four hundred cities of very different magnitudes, fifteen hundred smaller towns, and about a hundred thousand villages. Little more than five millions and seven hundred thousand were found to inhabit cities and towns, which, being less than a fourth part of the whole population, was justly considered as too small a proportion, and as a mark of insufficient vigor and activity in the industry of the nation. For the products of its industry the population of France was too great. This may have been diminished in some small degree by the revolutionary wars, and its future state will depend on the state of its new government.

The distribution of the inhabitants of France Face. has relatively to other parts of Europe few striking inequalities. The face of the country is various from the hand of nature and the works of man: in some parts a dead uninteresting flat; in others a lively waving surface of hill and dale: in some divided by thick inclosures; in others unclosed and open to a vast extent: in some well wooded; in others bare of trees and naked to the view: in some delightfully animated and gay with a smiling population and a variety of pleasing objects; in others of a dull and melancholy aspect: in some displaying the richest beauty and luxuriant fertility; in others the marks of barrenness and poverty. In a collective survey France exhibits the semblance of much grandeur and majesty; a multitude of opulent cities and towns; of magnificent highways, bridges, and canals; of stupendous works erected for

for the improvement of its ports ; and of fortresses constructed with the boldest and most masterly design, presenting on every side an armed front and impenetrable barrier to hostile nations by sea and land. In general the country is wooded, not with hedgerows, but clumps and forests. The high slopes of the south are charmingly verdant with the umbrageous foliage of chestnut groves, and vineyards give beauty to the less elevated steeps.

One of the most beautiful parts of France is the province of Limosin, where "hill, dale, wood, inclosures, streams, lakes, and scattered farms, are mingled into a thousand delicious landscapes."* Another is the country along the Loire below Angers, and that which borders the Seine through a length of two hundred miles above its mouth. Among the disagreeable tracts are many parts of Champagne, Poitou, and Sologne. The last has the epithet of *triste* or melancholy. Bretagne, with much of Anjou and Maine, has the appearance of a desert, *sombre*, in the language of the country, with fields of broom and wastes of heath. Wastes called *landes*, barren by neglect, not by nature, are found in many other provinces, as in Guyenne and Gascogne to the south of the Garonne, where the wastes of Bourdeaux occupy a space of more than a million and four hundred thousand of English acres.† Perhaps the most pleasing scenery to a philanthropist is presented in the province of Bearn, the birth place of the most

* Younge, v. ii. p. 24.

† Idem, v. ii. p. 336.

illustrious Henry the fourth, where the lands have been divided into small, but not too small, properties, and every appearance of rural comfort, a spectacle very rare in France, prevailed in handsome neat houses, well inclosed and well cultivated little farms, gardens, clipped hedges, and a competent supply of the decencies of life.*

Before the revolution about half of France was reckoned to be inclosed and the rest open; but what face the country may hereafter assume from political changes in consequence of this great event is in the womb of time. Even already some alteration must have taken place in respect of that mixture of magnificence and misery, enervate luxury and abject poverty, which this country formerly displayed to the eye. The great nobility in the true spirit of feudal tyranny appeared to delight in depopulation and in the abasement of their fellow creatures. Their splendid castles were surrounded in gloomy majesty with forests and wastes the abode of deer, boars, wolves, and other objects of the chase reserved for their barbarous pleasure, and seemed to frown with supercilious pride over the wretched hovels of the naked, overworked, and starving peasantry. Here were in general no gentle transitions by intermediate steps, as in Britain, on which the contemplation might rest, between indigence and wealth, the squalor of the mud cabin and the splendor of the *chateau*,† the beggary of the rural parts and the opulence of the towns. The

* Young, v. i. p. 87.

† Castle.

former were commonly deserted by the gentry, who reserved all their money for the luxuries of the latter.

Towns.

The towns of this great country are numerous and many of them splendid; but in general the magnificence of their appearance is more striking in a distant view than in immediate inspection; for they are commonly composed, for the greater part, of narrow, crooked, and dark lanes. Though populous in themselves, they are yet inferior to the towns of the British islands in this respect, and relatively to the total population of this wide region are to be accounted rather small. They have also been observed to have far less intercourse one with another than British towns. They differ from these in the manner in which they are lighted for the accommodation of passengers; the lamps, with a few exceptions, being suspended on strings drawn across the streets.

Paris.

In the middle of the province called the Isle of France, in a vast flat, on the beautiful river Seine about a hundred and twenty English miles from its mouth, stands the great and famous capital of all France, Paris, named in ancient times Lutetia or Lucetia, then the chief town of a Gallic tribe termed Parisii by the Romans. Lutetia occupied only an island in the Seine, now called la Cité, a part of the present vast city, which extends widely on both sides of the river, in a circular form, about twelve miles in circuit including the suburbs, containing about twenty thousand houses, and, before the revolution, five hundred and sixty thousand

land inhabitants. It is encompassed with a wall, ramparts, and a circular road. The last consisting of three parallel walks beautifully adorned with four stately rows of trees, is accounted one of the chief ornaments of Paris, and is called the Boulevards, because it runs most of its way along the ramparts.

Paris is accounted inferior in beauty as well as in size to London; inferior in streets, but superior in edifices. The houses are very high, having from four to seven or eight stories; the streets narrow, ill paved, mostly dirty, and not furnished with flagged walks or raised foot-pavements for the convenience of walkers. The public buildings are mostly grand and elegant. The principal bridge, called Pont-Neuf, crosses the Seine, supported by twelve arches, eleven hundred feet in length and seventy-nine broad, finely ornamented, and forming a noble object. The cathedral church of Notre-Dame, four hundred and thirty feet long, a hundred and fifty-nine broad, and a hundred and twelve high exclusively of the tower, which commands completely a view of all Paris, is one of the richest and noblest pieces of Gothic architecture in the world, but is much inferior to Saint Paul's of London in exterior majesty. Among other magnificent structures of this great and celebrated capital are the admirable palaces of the Louvre, the Tuileries, and Orleans or Luxemburg. The two former communicate by a great gallery. The plan of the Louvre was vast, but not finished, composing a square, with a court in the middle, which is also a

square extending four hundred and seventeen feet on every side. Among the most honorable of the Parisian structures is the royal library, composed of magnificent galleries, five hundred and seventy feet long, two hundred and forty broad, containing a hundred and fifty thousand printed volumes and above eighty thousand manuscripts.

To the kings of France belonged several palaces in the vicinage of Paris, as at Marly, Versailles, and Fontainebleau. The first of these, thirteen miles from Paris and near six from Versailles, is comparatively small, seated in a great park or forest, where are noble water-works, raising the water sixty feet, from which even the gardens of Versailles are supplied. The vast palace of Fontainebleau, where is a town containing about three thousand inhabitants, thirty-seven miles from Paris, is of nearly a triangular form, divided into five courts, and said to contain nine thousand chambers, seated in the middle of a beautiful forest, which in a circular area comprizes near thirty thousand acres, and affords, with woods, pieces of water, hills, and rocks intermixed, a delightful prospect.

Verfailles. The greatest of all the royal palaces of France is that of Versailles, distant fifteen miles from the capital, situate in a vast flat, and consequently inferior to that of Fontainebleau in beauty of landscape. Versailles, formerly a small village, grew by the royal residence into such magnitude, that it was said to contain at the revolution sixty thousand inhabitants. It is divided into two parts, the old and new town, by the great avenue of the palace, which

which consists of three very broad and magnificent alleys. The palace, or chateau, the description of which would fill volumes, has been accounted the most magnificent in the world; its erection and embellishment, exclusively of some other royal buildings at Versailles, having cost above thirteen millions of British pounds. The gardens and parks pertaining to this more than superb mansion have occupied a space of near fifty miles in circuit.

The capital of the great province of Normandy Rouen. is the commercial city of Rouen, situate in a deep hollow inclosed on three sides by steep hills, on the eastern bank of the Seine and at about forty miles in a right line from its mouth, where that beautifully winding river is additionally adorned both above and below the city with wooded islands. A bridge supported by nineteen boats, which rises and falls with the tide, and opens occasionally for the passage of larger vessels, connects the city with a suburb on the opposite side. The number of inhabitants has been calculated at above seventy-two thousand. The city-wall, inclosing a space five miles in circuit, is decayed and in many parts demolished. The buildings are mostly old and irregular; the streets narrow, ill paved and dirty. The metropolitan church, four hundred and thirty-three feet long, eighty-eight broad in the nave, and two hundred and thirty-two high in the principal tower, is accounted one of the finest churches in France. In this tower is a bell said to weigh thirty-

six thousand pounds, the clapper alone weighing thirteen hundred and sixty.*

Havre de
Grace.

At the northern point of the opening which forms the mouth of the Seine, at the end of a marshy vale in Normandy, stands the town of Havre de Grace, bustling with traffic, inhabited by about thirty thousand people, strongly fortified with a bastion and other works, intersected by creeks and ditches full of water, in general not ill built, its streets tolerably broad and strait, but not well paved. Beside two roads for shipping it enjoys a secure port, which enters with a narrow passage, but afterwards enlarges between the town on the west and the citadel on the east, dividing finally into two oblong basons, capable of containing above three hundred ships, but admitting none of much greater burthen than six hundred tons. To improve the harbor a vast work was advancing at the royal expence at the time of the revolution, a wall seven hundred yards long, five broad, and almost four above the surface of the sea at high water, together with two other walls four hundred yards long, three broad, and the space between them seven yards wide filled with earth, for the purpose of inclosing a great bason from the sea, and forming an artificial back-water to sweep the harbor's mouth and clear it from all obstructions.†

Caen.

In the same great province is the city of Caen,

* Description de la France, par Piganiol de La Force, tome ix. p. 247—277. Wraxall, v. ii. p. 413.

† P. de La Force, tome ix. p. 592—622. Younge, v. i. p. 161, 162.

containing

containing about fifty thousand inhabitants, fancied to resemble in form a horse-shoe, built mostly of cut stone, fortified with high walls flanked with towers, and commanded by a great ancient castle. It is situate in a valley between two large tracts of fine meadows at the confluence of the river Odon with the Orne, nine miles in a right line from the mouth of the latter, which brings vessels of small size up to the town. The steeple of Saint Peter's Church in Caen is remarkable, rising in form of an octagonal pyramid to the height of two hundred and thirty-three feet above the pillars which support it, and having remained without any apparent decay since the year 1300 when it was erected, though the walls, the stones of which are bound together with cramps of iron, are only four inches thick, and are pierced with forty-eight large holes in the shape of stars, through which the sky is seen from the bottom to the top of the pyramid.*

Cherbourg, situate also in Normandy, is too small to merit notice, (for it contains only twenty thousand inhabitants) except on account of the immense works begun in order to form an artificial harbor for ships of the line. A basin was to be inclosed by sinking in the sea huge masses of timber and stone in the form of truncated cones, a hundred and forty feet in diameter at the base, sixty at top, and sixty high, and by joining these one to another with great banks of stones. The expence was so enormous that when eight cones were sunk, out of thirty-three which the plan required, the

Cher-
bourg.

* P. de La Force, tome ix. p. 325—359.

work was discontinued; but so far as it has been executed, it is not without its use.*

Saint
Malo.

Saint Malo, a maritime town of Bretagne, containing near eighteen thousand inhabitants, is remarkable for its situation, being built on a rock in the small isle of Saint Aaron, which is joined by an artificial isthmus, called the Sillon, to the main land. The violence of the waves is broken by many neighbouring islets. The town is strongly fortified, and well situate for commerce, but ill supplied with water; the inhabitants mostly depending in this respect on rain preserved in cisterns.†

Brest.

Brest is also a maritime town of Bretagne noted for its harbor, which is one of the chief stations of the French naval armaments, of a narrow and difficult entrance, called the Goulet or Gullet, but so wide within land as to be capable of containing five hundred frigates and ships of the line. The port is well fortified particularly with a strong castle on a steep rock. The town, standing at the foot and on the ascent of a hill, with narrow streets and crowded houses, has grown since the year 1630, when it began to attract ministerial attention, into such a size as to contain thirty thousand souls, including the better built suburb of Recouvrance, which is separated from it by a part of the harbor.

L'Orient.

In the same province is the town of L'Orient, regularly built, and containing near seventeen thousand inhabitants, remarkable only for its port, which gives accommodation to ships of the line,

* Younge, vol. i. p. 167—171.

† P. De La Force, tome viii. p. 414—417.

and

and has been the chief station for vessels employed in the East Indian trade. One of the most striking edifices is a beautiful round tower of white stone, a hundred feet high, with a railed gallery at top, erected for the purpose of observing the approach of shipping and of making signals.

The greatest city of Bretagne, though Rennes is *Nantes*. reckoned its capital, is Nantes, delightfully situate on a hill of easy slope, at the influx of the beautifully meandering *Ardre* into the *Loire*, on the northern bank of the latter, where this great river is divided into many channels by charming little islands, decorated with villas, or covered with elegant buildings and streets. Nantes enjoys a considerable traffic, but the river bears only vessels of small size to the town, and ships of burthen discharge their cargoes at *Painbeuf* twenty four miles lower near the mouth of the river. Fifty-seven thousand souls are said to inhabit this thriving town including the suburbs, which are greater than the city itself, whose walls have been some years demolished. The buildings are superb. The great quay is a mile in length, and a curious bridge a mile and a half long crosses all the channels of the *Loire* from north to south.*

In a fine level tract of country, cultivated and *Orleans*. planted with vines, on the northern bank of the *Loire*, a hundred and fifty miles above Nantes, on a gentle declivity sloping to the south, stands the city of *Orleans*, inhabited by above forty thousand persons, with a city wall of a semicircular form,

* *Wraxall*, vol. ii. p. 233—237.

a principal

a principal street, well built and beautiful, extending the whole length of the town, a fine cathedral which commands a view of the Loire through an extent of thirty miles, and a stately bridge of nine elliptic arches, forty-five feet broad, and near a quarter of an English mile in length, over the same river, by which Orleans has the advantage of a considerable traffic.*

Tours.

In a beautiful well watered plain surrounded with fine wooded hills, near a hundred miles above Nantes, on the southern bank of the Loire between that river and its auxiliar stream the Cher, is the city of Tours, with a population of twenty-five thousand, a great cathedral, one of whose towers rises more than a hundred and five feet above the church, a most agreeable public walk shaded with elms, and a splendid street built of white cut stone, running in a strait line quite through the city to a magnificent bridge of fifteen arches each of seventy feet span.†

Rochelle.

The maritime town of Rochelle in the province of Aunis, of a somewhat unwholesome air on account of salt marshes in its vicinity, strongly fortified, and inhabited by about eighteen thousand people, is noted for its port, which is excellently adapted for commerce, though it admits not vessels of great burthen. It consists of three parts, the basin or inmost part, the avant port a league in extent, and the road, where larger ships ride at anchor, sheltered from south-west winds by some

* H. M. Williams, let. 29.

† Younge, vol. i. p. 104.

islands. In order to form a complete blockade in the year 1628, when Rochelle was besieged by the royal army and defended by the Hugonots, an immense dyke or bank of stone was formed in the sea across the harbor, which still remains an astonishing monument of the genius of cardinal Richlieu, above a hundred and fifty feet broad at top, but widening continually downward, and nearly an English mile in length, except an opening two hundred feet wide for the passage of shipping.*

On the southern bank of the Garonne, sixty miles from its mouth, and where that fine stream is considerably broader than the Thames at London, stands the great, commercial, opulent, populous, and magnificent city of Bourdeaux, accounted the capital of Guienne and Gascogne, regularly built nearly in form of a crescent of white hewn stone, and forming a very beautiful object to approaching travellers, but from the flatness of the country seeming to want something to bring forward the picture and complete the view. The quays, near to which the Garonne bears the trading vessels the means of this town's wealth, extend four miles along the river with regular buildings. Bourdeaux contains about ninety thousand inhabitants. Its public edifices are grand, one of which is an insulated theatre, three hundred and six feet long, and a hundred and sixty-five broad.†

A hundred and forty miles above Bourdeaux, on the opposite bank of the same river, near its junction

* Wraxall, v. ii. p. 244—249.

† Younge, v. i. p. 95. Wraxall, v. ii. p. 261—264.

tion with the royal canal, in a situation very advantageous for commerce, but little availing itself of that advantage, stands the ancient, large, but not proportionally populous, and rather ugly city of Toulouse, the capital of Languedoc, with a population of near sixty thousand, narrow crooked streets, buildings of a melancholy aspect of brick and wood, a great bridge nine hundred feet in length over the Garonne, a long and elegant new quay, an unfinished cathedral the bell of which is said to weigh fifty thousand pounds, and a church of the Cordeliers whose vaults preserve dead bodies from putrefaction in the manner of mummies.*

Mont-
pellier.

Montpellier, containing near forty thousand souls, accounted the second city of Languedoc, and estimated more highly in former times than at present for the salubrity of its air, is in itself a town of no great beauty, its street being narrow, ill built, and crooked; but enjoys a delightful situation, covering a hill of gentle acclivity, which swells proudly to the view, and commands from its magnificently decorated summit a most enchanting prospect of a charming contiguous country, of the blue expanse of the Mediterranean sea, of the stupendous Alps with their snowy summits, and of the bold and broken line of the lofty Pyrenees. This admirable view is had from a square, or public walk, called the Perou, one of the most beautiful in the world, to which water is conveyed for the supply of the city by a noble aqueduct of three tiers of arches from a distant hill. In the plain is

* Wraxall, v. ii. p. 302. Younge, v. i. p. 42, 43.

an object of less agreeable reflection, a square citadel which with its cannon commands the town and neighbouring country.

Marseilles, the famous ancient Massilia, the chief ^{Mar-} town of Provence, is situate in a mountainous ^{seilles.} rocky country of a dry and barren aspect, but well improved, and decorated with numerous villas. It is fortified with a citadel and other works, and forms an irregular oblong figure, divided into two towns, the old and the new, by a fine street named le Cours, planted with trees and furnishing a noble public walk. The old town, on a hill above the harbor, is extremely ill built and one of the dirtiest in Europe; the new is constructed with all the regularity and convenience of modern times. Marseilles, inhabited by about a hundred thousand persons, owes its greatness to a situation most inviting for commerce on a bay of the Mediterranean where is a road sheltered with islands, and within it a port of nearly an oval form, about twelve hundred yards long and three hundred and fifty broad, completely secured from all winds by surrounding hills, but of a narrow entrance, and incapable of admitting ships of great burthen.

In Provence is also Toulon, with one of the no- ^{Toulon.} blest harbors in the world, the station of French armed fleets, consisting of two roads and two basons, all bearing the heaviest ships of war. The basons, completely landlocked and sheltered, consist of a greater and a smaller, the entrance of which is so narrow as to admit only one ship at a time.

* Younge, v. i. p. 69. Wraxall, v. ii. p. 320, 321.

The town and harbor are so fortified as to be accounted impregnable toward the sea. Toulon, containing thirty thousand persons before the revolution, consists of two parts, the old and the new; the former ugly, the latter handsome. It is seated among rocks and hills, whence many streams descending, and entering the town on all sides, are distributed by a multitude of fountains, which tend to refresh the air of summer in this hot climate.*

Lyons.

Lyons, anciently named Lugdunum, and lately denominated Ville-affranchie, seated beautifully for prospect, and advantageously for interior commerce, among hills at the confluence of the river Saone with the great and rapid Rhone, with a great bridge of twenty arches over the latter, and three of inferior magnitude over the former, is accounted the second city of France next after Paris, having been, before the revolution, great, opulent, and splendid, containing a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; but the terrible devastations of war, which it has since undergone, have made a melancholy change in its condition.

Nancy.

Nancy, capital of Lorraine, situate at the foot of a hill in a plain on the western side of the river Meurthe an auxiliar stream of the Moselle, is remarkable for its beauty, being accounted, not quite without reason, the handsomest town in France. It contains about thirty-five thousand inhabitants. The houses are provided with eave-troughs and pipes of tin to carry away the rain

* Du Patty's Travels, p. 8. Younge, v. i. p. 384.

water,

water, and the lamps for nocturnal illumination are fixed in the same manner as in British towns.*

Straßbourg, the capital of the fertile province of ^{Straß-}Alface, is rather a German than a French town, ^{bourg.} but has been subject to the French government since Lewis the fourteenth seized it like a robber in the year 1681. Straßbourg, with narrow streets and crowded buildings, containing about fifty thousand inhabitants, is so firmly secured by a pentagonal citadel and other works of defence, as to be accounted one of the strongest towns in the world. The distance of its situation from the Rhine, over which it has a fine wooden bridge thirteen hundred yards long, is less than a mile, on the confluent rivers Ill and Brusch which are crossed by eight bridges. This large and strong city is noted for its cathedral, reckoned a masterpiece of Gothic architecture, the steeple of which, the highest in Europe, finished in the space of a hundred and sixty-two years, rising in a pyramidal form to the height of five hundred and seventy-four feet, with pierced work so slight in appearance as to create astonishment how it has subsisted without injury since the year 1449 when it was completed.†

Rheims, in the province of Champagne, seated ^{Rheims.} in an extensive plain on the river Vesse, with a great and beautiful cathedral where the French monarchs were consecrated, contains above thirty thousand inhabitants, and differs from the genera-

* Younge, v. i. p. 286, 288.

† P. De La Force, t. xiii. p. 80—91.

lity of French towns in its plan; its streets being almost all broad, strait, and well built.*

Lille.

Lille, the capital of the French Netherlands, containing above sixty thousand inhabitants, and seated in a rich marshy flat, is remarkable for the amazing strength of its fortifications, particularly a pentagonal citadel which is accounted the strongest in Europe.

Amiens.

Amiens, the capital of Picardy, seated on the river Somme, by which it has a navigable communication with the sea, boasts a population of between forty and fifty thousand, a great cathedral one of the most strikingly beautiful in France, and a curious, but not easily describable machine for supplying the city with water.

Calais.

In the same province is Calais, containing between ten and twenty thousand people, supplied with water only from rain preserved in cisterns, seated on the Dover strait with a harbor of dangerous entrance admitting only small ships, extremely well fortified not only by works of art, but also by its natural position, for it stands in a marsh which may be occasionally inundated against an enemy; but chiefly noted for its proximity to Britain to which it is the nearest French port, and from its intercourse with the British port of Dover.

History.

To proceed farther with a description of French towns is unnecessary. Of them all the most ancient, so far as authentic history authorizes us to pronounce, is Marseilles, named formerly Massilia, founded by a Grecian colony from Phoea in Ionia,

* Younge, v. i. p. 278.

probably

probably between five and six hundred years before the Christian era. What was then the condition of France is unknown. Its earliest inhabitants appear to have been the Gaels, named by the Romans Galli, or as we say Gauls, a Celtic people, who doubtless colonized the British islands, and whose language, called Gaelic or Gãlic, is preserved to this day, not without great alteration and corruption, in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands.

When fame sounded abroad the growing greatness of Rome, Massilia courted the alliance of that formidable commonwealth. A consequence of this was the first conquest made in France by Roman arms. Harassed by the Salyes, Salyi, or Saluvii, a people dwelling about the modern town of Arles, Massilia solicited the aid of her powerful ally, and the Salyes were conquered, a hundred and twenty-two years before Christ, by an army under Sextius Calvinus, who in the following year planted a Roman colony, the first ever brought into France, at Aquæ Sextiæ, now called Aix in Provence. Three years after this conquest, the Allobroges, inhabiting the present Savoy and Dauphiné, were obliged to submit to these ambitious republicans, and the conquered countries were reduced into the form of a Roman province, or provincia, whence is derived the modern appellation of Provence.

The celebrated Julius Cæsar, having fifty-seven years before the birth of Christ been appointed to the command of this province, made war on the neighbouring people, and overthrowing by superiority

riority of generalship, armour, and discipline, these brave and warlike, but disunited tribes, in eight years of obstinate and bloody conflicts,* made a complete conquest of all the extensive region denominated Gallia Transalpina, or Transalpine Gaul. Under this appellation was comprehended all that vast extent of territory which stretches from the Alps and the Rhine to the ocean, containing not only all modern France, but together with Savoy and Switzerland those parts of Germany and the Netherlands which lie on the western side of the Rhine.

From the pen of this illustrious commander and statesman† we have the first authentic information concerning the state of Gaul. He found it inhabited by three distinct races of men different in origin, language, customs, and laws, the Celts, the Belgians, and the Aquitanians, each composed of several nations or tribes. The Celts or Gaels, to whom alone the term Galli or Gauls properly belonged, though it was often by implication understood also of the rest, and who appeared to be the aboriginal people of Gaul, inhabited that large tract of territory which is bounded on one side by the river Garonne, on the other by the Seine and Marne. From the Seine and Marne to the Rhine dwelled the Belgians, a people of Gothic or German ancestry, who, coming from the east of the

* That Cæsar in the course of this war encountered in his various battles three millions of men, killed above one million, and made a million prisoners, appears to be an exaggeration.

† See Cæsar's Commentaries.

Rhine, had expelled the Celts and taken possession of their territories. The Aquitanians, who appear to have come into Gaul immediately from Spain, but primarily from Africa, occupied the country between the Pyrenees and the Garonne.

Less influenced by national distinctions, but not quite regardless of that consideration, the emperor Augustus divided Gaul into six provinces, one of which was Aquitania, which he bounded by the Pyrenees and the Loire: another confined between the Loire and Seine, was Gallia Celtica, afterwards termed Lugdunensis from the city of Lugdunum or Lyons; and in the decline of the empire its maritime parts assumed the title of Armorica. During four centuries and a half the yoke of Rome oppressed and civilized the nations of Gaul, who in course of time became so Romanized that the greater part of them forgot their vernacular dialects and adopted the Latin in their place. At several times disturbed and partially ravaged by the disorders of a licentious army, the insurrections of a cruelly treated peasantry, and the incursions of barbarians from beyond the Rhine, the Gallic provinces, notwithstanding, formed a rich and flourishing region, one of the most valuable under the Roman dominion, paying probably to the head of that vast empire to the amount of between four and five millions of our money in annual tribute; no trifling sum when we consider the high value of the precious metals in those ages. "Gaul," says the prince of modern historians, "could boast of her twelve hundred cities; and though, in the

northern parts, many of them, without excepting Paris itself, were little more than the rude and imperfect townships of a rising people, the southern provinces imitated the wealth and elegance of Italy. Many were the cities of Gaul, Marseilles, Arles, Nîmes, Narbonne, Thoulouse, Bourdeaux, Autun, Vienne, Lyons, Langres, and Treves, whose ancient condition might sustain an equal, and perhaps advantageous comparison with their present state.”*

Antiqui-
ties.

In a country where flourished Roman arts and magnificence, monuments are to be expected, and monuments in France are numerous. The principal are found about Nîmes in Languedoc, and to notice these, which almost rival those of Italy, must suffice in this treatise. Nîmes, in a charming plain, is supposed to contain fifty thousand inhabitants, yet much to have declined from its ancient greatness when it bore the name of Nemausus. Here, beside other memorials of Roman art, are an amphitheatre, two temples, and a tower of unknown destination. This, named by the modern French *la Tour Magne*, rises in form of a truncated pyramid, with seven, some say eight sides, all built of hewn stone, to the height at present of eighty-two feet, formerly a hundred and thirty, from a base ninety-one feet in diameter.

The amphitheatre, capable in its perfect state of accommodating twenty thousand spectators, built of huge blocks of hewn stone without the appearance of cement, extends with an elliptic base four hundred and thirty-eight feet long, three hundred

* Gibbon, b. i. c. 2:

and forty-three broad, beautified with columns, arcades, and other ornaments of architecture and sculpture. This noble pile, named *les Arenes* by the French, is accounted one of the grandest and best preserved relics of Roman antiquity. "The prodigious circumference, the solidity and durability of its construction, the awful majesty of so vast a pile, half perfect half in ruin, impress with a tumult of sentiment hard to be transfused by any description."*

One of the temples, vulgarly named the temple of Diana, and of the fountain, sixty feet long, fifty wide, forty high, with ten pillars supporting a cornice above, has doubtless been a structure of great magnificence; but it is far surpassed by the other, which in modern French is denominated *la maison quarrée*, or the square house, from its oblong rectangular form, eighty-one feet long, half as much broad, sixty-seven high, with thirty columns, a cornice, and a frieze, which are masterpieces of architecture. "It appears to be the most perfect piece of architecture in the world; the order is the Corinthian, and all the laboured beauties of that style seem to be exhausted in its construction."† "Without any magnitude to render it imposing, without any extraordinary magnificence to surprize, it rivets attention. A magic harmony in the proportions charms the eye. One can fix on no part of pre-eminent beauty: it is one perfect whole of symmetry and grace."‡

* Wraxall, vol. ii. p. 325.

† Idem, p. 326.

‡ Younge, vol. i. p. 71.

The *Pont du Gard*, about eight miles from Nîmes, is a stupendous monument of Roman masonry. It is a part of a vast aqueduct twenty-five miles in length, constructed for the conveyance of water to the amphitheatre and city. The *Pont du Gard*, which crosses the river Gardon, and forms a junction between two steep hills, consists of three vast bridges or rows of arches, one on another, built without cement, of cut stone of extraordinary hardness, to the height of a hundred and seventy feet, and the length of nine hundred and twenty in the highest part where it is longest.

The
Franks.

The separation of Gaul from the empire of Rome we may date from the year 407 of the Christian era, when the armies of Goths or Germans, under the names of Suevi, Vandals, Alani, Burgundians, and other appellations, crossed the Rhine into the Gallic territories without ever afterwards retreating from the invaded country, and spread, with little opposition, from that river to the Pyrenees and the Bay of Biscay, the terror and desolation of their arms. Such was the rapid sweep of devastation in the first irruption of these barbarous hosts, that in the vicinity of the Rhine the smiling "scene of peace and plenty was suddenly changed into a desert, and the prospect of the smoking ruins could alone distinguish the solitude of nature from the desolation of man."* Of the tribes of barbarians who ravaged and settled in Gaul the Franks were the ultimately predominant nation. As the posterity of these formed a monarchy which after-

* Gibbon, vol. v. c. 30.

wards became the greatest and most splendid in Europe, "the powers of learning and ingenuity have been exhausted in the discovery of their unlettered ancestors. To the tales of credulity have succeeded the systems of fancy, At length the most rational critics, rejecting the fictitious emigrations of ideal conquerors, have acquiesced in a sentiment whose simplicity persuades us of its truth. They suppose that about the year two hundred and forty of the Christian era, a new confederacy was formed, under the name of Franks, by the old inhabitants of the lower Rhine and the Weser. The love of liberty was the ruling passion of these Germans; the enjoyment of it their best treasure; the word which expressed that enjoyment the most pleasing to their ear. They deserved, they assumed, they maintained, the honorable epithet of Franks or freemen, which concealed, though it did not extinguish, the peculiar names of the several states of the confederacy. Tacit consent and mutual advantage dictated the first laws of the union: it was gradually cemented by habit and experience."*

The history of the Franks in its early periods is altogether obscure, unconnected, and can only be partially gleaned from imperfect hints of ancient historians at distant intervals. We find that about the year 260, in the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus, the name of the Franks was made known by the terror of their arms not only in Gaul, but even in Spain and Morocco, where they committed wasteful depredations, crossing the Py-

* Gibbon, vol. i. c. 10.

renees and the strait of Gibraltar in quest of adventures and of spoil; that in 277, defeated by the emperor Probus, they were driven from Gaul and obliged to take refuge in the marshy countries whence they had come; and that in 358 they had, with other German tribes, ravaged great part of Gaul, and were partly expelled, partly subdued, by the forces of Julian, surnamed the apostate. Those who on this occasion became subjects or allies of Rome settled partly in a tract of country then called Toxandria, which, extending from the vicinity of Tongres to the conflux of the Vahal and Rhine, comprehended most of Liege and Brabant, and which may deserve to be considered as the original seat of the Gallic monarchy of the Franks.*

From the treaty of Julian the Frankish tribes appear to have continued auxiliaries of Rome. At least such they were at the great invasion already mentioned in the year 407, or rather at the end of the year 406, when, in their unsuccessful attempt to guard the Gallic barrier against that fatal irruption, they sustained a dreadful slaughter from the united forces of the Vandals and Alani. Thence, when the Roman empire could afford no protection, the league was probably dissolved, and we find that about the year 440, Clodion, the first of their long-haired kings mentioned in authentic history, extended his dominion from the Rhine to the Somme. Dispargum, a village or fortress, supposed to have been situate between Louvain and Brussels, was the seat of this monarch. The

* Gibbon, vol. iii. chap. 19. p. 207. Dub. 1781.

Franks, while their "monarchy was still confined to the neighbourhood of the lower Rhine, had wisely established the right of hereditary succession in the noble family of the Merovingians.* These princes were elevated on a buckler the symbol of military command; and the royal fashion of long hair was the ensign of their birth and dignity. Their flaxen locks, which they combed and dressed with singular care, hung down in flowing ringlets on the back and shoulders, while the rest of the nation were obliged, either by law or custom, to shave the hinder part of the head, to comb their hair over their forehead, and to content themselves with the ornament of two small whiskers."†

Far the most renowned of all the Merovingian Clovis. race for successful ambition and military enterprize was Clovis, Ludovicus, or Lewis, for these names and more seem applicable to him, the son of Childeric, and the fourth in succession inclusively from Clodion, but probably not in the direct line of primogeniture. Clovis, the founder of the mighty French monarchy, succeeded in the year 481 at the age of fifteen to the command of that tribe of Franks who were denominated Salians. At the age of nineteen, this chieftain, whose dominion extended only over a marshy tract called the island of

* This name has been supposed to have been derived from Meroveus, grandfather of Clovis; but this opinion has been refuted, and an ingenious critic has deduced it from the great Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni, a powerful German nation.

† Gibbon, vol. vi. c. 35. p. 87, 88.

the Batavians together with the ancient dioceses of Tournay and Arras, and whose warriors could not exceed five thousand in number, commenced, perhaps conceived, the conquest of Gaul. But, without wealth or extensive territories, great were the resources of his native genius. "The valor of Clovis was directed by cool and consummate prudence. In all his transactions with mankind he calculated the weight of interest, of passion, and of opinion; and his measures were sometimes adapted to the sanguinary manners of the Germans, and sometimes moderated by the milder genius of Rome and Christianity."* The superiority of his merit attracted to his standard the boldest warriors from the several tribes of Franks, who had seated themselves along the Belgic rivers, and who were governed by several chiefs of the Merovingian race, but who were free to follow the ensigns of a popular and enterprising leader.

Though Gaul had been dismembered from the Roman empire, and that empire itself now no longer subsisted, yet the Gallic people retained the name of Romans, and under that name maintained an independence in some parts of the country against the barbarians. Such in particular was the state of the maritime country between the Seine and the Loire, denominated Armorica, and divided into several communities. Syagrius, a patrician or noble Roman, supported a court at Soissons as an independent prince, and held under his jurisdiction the neighbouring territories. He was in 486 assail-

* Gibbon, vol. vi. chap. 38.

ed by Clovis, defeated and deprived of dominion and life. The Alemans, who had seized Lorraine and Alsace, were in 496 overthrown in a desperate conflict, and these countries became the prize of the Frankish leader. In the following year he accomplished the accession of the Armorican states, partly by political dexterity, partly by force. The kingdom of the Visigoths, in the south of Gaul, had the city of Toulouse for its capital, and stretched from the Pyrenees to the Loire. Thither in 507 the force of the Franks was led by Clovis; the Visigoths were discomfited and their monarch Alaric fell in the fatal field near Poitiers; the treasures of Toulouse, the accumulated spoils of nations plundered by the Goths, were transported to Paris, already regarded as the Frankish capital; and all this kingdom of southern Gaul was united to the Frankish monarchy, excepting a maritime tract called Septimania, between the Rhone and the Pyrenees, which was saved by an army of Ostrogoths from Italy, who defeated the Franks at Arles with dreadful slaughter.

The policy of this great founder of the French monarchy was to the end of his life deep and ferocious. The two latest actions of his reign marked the legislator and the tyrant. One was the revision and publication of the Salic laws, or those laws which had been in use among the Salian Franks, his original subjects: the other was the deliberate murder of all the other princes of the Merovingian race, to secure the sceptre to his own offspring. He expired in the year 511, in the forty-fifth year of his

his age. By the seizure of Septimania by the sons of Clovis, and the subjugation of the Burgundian kingdom; which extended from Langres in Champagne to Avignon and Geneva, in 532 the dominion of the Franks was completed over Gaul, which has taken the name of France from these its new masters.

The
Merovin-
gians.

The dominions of Clovis, acquired by subtle and sanguinary arts, became at his death the divided property of his four sons; and thence to the end of the Merovingian dynasty French history is a chaos of barbarous names, more barbarous acts, and confused hostilities among the disunited princes, the descendants of Clovis. Twice in this distracted period the dismembered empire was reunited under one sovereign, first in the year 558 in the person of Clotaire the first, and secondly in 613 in that of Clotaire the second, the grandson of the former. In length of time the posterity of the conquering Clovis became so degenerate as to merit and obtain in history the title of lazy kings. They rendered themselves mere ciphers of state, immersed in sensuality, inaccessiblely immured in the recesses of the palace, and invisible to their subjects except once in the year on the first of March; while the administration and authority of the realm devolved on the mayor of the palace, or steward of the household. This office became hereditary and was finally held in succession with all the regal power, by Pepin d'Heristel, Charles Martel his son, and Pepin, surnamed the short, his grandson. The last of these, induced by the exhortation of his subjects

subjects and the sanction of the Pope, deposing Childeric the third, the last of the long-haired kings, put an end to the Merovingian dynasty in the year 751, and mounting the throne by an almost blameless, at least expedient usurpation, added the title to the power of king, and gave beginning to a new dynasty called the Carlovingian.

To Pepin, the first monarch of the second dynasty or Carlovingian line, succeeded his son Charlemagne or Charles the great, the most glorious prince that ever swayed the sceptre of France, illiterate himself, yet a noble encourager of literature, and, which is indeed in the eye of reason far inferior, a conqueror who extended the Frankish empire from the Ebro in Spain to the Elbe, perhaps to the Vistula, and from the Eyder on the confines of Denmark to the Italian region of Naples. In the year 814 the scene of his exploits was closed by the hand of death. His immense empire, which had been divided among his sons, was re-united under the only survivor, Lewis the gentle; but as in the Merovingian, so also in the Carlovingian dynasty degeneracy, division, discord, and weakness prevailed. By a treaty of partition made by the three sons of Lewis in 843, France was finally separated from the rest of the immense dominions of Charlemagne, and became the share of Lewis, surnamed the bald. The reader of the French history is apt to turn with disgust from the dark and perplexed annals of the succeeding reigns, distracted by the inroads of Norman pirates, domestic dissensions, and feudal anarchy. The heads
of

The
Carlovin-
gians.

of a noxious aristocracy, the holders of great fiefs, grew into a power totally incompatible with public tranquillity; the royal demesnes and authority were almost annihilated, and the constitution was rent between the extremes of despotism and anarchy, despotism in the fiefs and anarchy in the state. To remedy these intolerable disorders the nobles and clergy, at the decease of Lewis the fifth, the last king of the Carlovingian dynasty, elected Hugh Capet, the possessor of the most powerful fief, who, ascending the throne in the year 987, gave commencement to the third race of monarchs, that of the Capets, who have retained possession of the crown eight hundred years, to the great revolution which commenced in 1787.

In the Merovingian dynasty the monarchy had been hereditary; in the Carlovingian it was understood to be elective; but the choice was confined to the family of Charlemagne, and the succession proceeded nearly as if it were hereditary. In the dynasty of the Capets hereditary right was fully established in the line of primogeniture, but females by tacit custom, not by old Salique or Salian laws, were excluded from the throne. The nobility retained for ages their despotism in the fiefs, and the king had little more preponderance among them than what arose from the superior force of his patrimonial estates. When we survey the series of French transactions through a course of eight hundred years, the reigns of the Capets, to catch a few prominent features in so great a mass of history is sufficient for this treatise.

The

The political annexion of the great dutchy of The
Normandy to the realm of England, by the con- Capets.
quest of the latter country under William the bas-
tard in 1066, occasioned an intercourse of Eng-
land and France which inseparably blended the
histories of the two kingdoms in succeeding times.
By the accession in 1154 to the English throne of
Henry the second, the first of the Plantagenets, the
posseffor of several rich provinces in France in his
own right and that of his queen, Eleanor the re-
pudiated consort of Lewis the seventh, the French
dominions of the English crown, which were held
as fiefs of that of France, were so augmented, that
they composed more than a third of the whole
French monarchy, and much exceeded in extent
and opulence those territories which were subjected
to the immediate jurisdiction and government of
the French king. So formidable a neighbourhood
gave naturally no small alarm and disquietude to
the kings of France; but, as it almost always hap-
pens to politicians, the event was quite contrary to
their apprehensions. In reality this alarming cir-
cumstance was the principal cause of exalting the
Capetion race to that pitch of grandeur which they
afterwards attained.

“ The limited authority of the prince in the feu-
dal constitutions, prevented the king of England
from employing with advantage the force of so many
states which were subjected to his government;
and these different members, disjointed in situation,
and disagreeing in laws, language, and manners,
were never thoroughly cemented into one mo-
narchy.

narchy. He soon became, both from his distant place of residence and from the incompatibility of interests, a kind of foreigner to his French dominions; and his subjects on the continent considered their allegiance as more naturally due to their superior lord, who lived in their neighbourhood, and who was acknowledged to be the supreme head of their nation. He was always at hand to invade them; their immediate lord was often at too great a distance to protect them; and any disorder in any part of his dispersed dominions gave advantage against him. The other powerful vassals of the French crown were rather pleased to see the expulsion of the English, and were not affected with that jealousy, which would have arisen from the oppression of a co-vassal who was of the same rank with themselves. By these means the king of France found it more easy to conquer these numerous provinces from England than to subdue a duke of Normandy or Guienne, a count of Anjou, Maine, or Poictou. And after reducing such extensive territories, which immediately incorporated with the body of the monarchy, he found greater facility of uniting to the crown the other great fiefs, which still remained separate and independent.”*

Excepting Guienne and some neighbouring territories, the conquest of the French fiefs possessed by the English monarch was effected by Philip the second, surnamed Augustus, son of Lewis the seventh, who, making the proper advantage of the wicked,

* Hume's Hist. of England, vol. i. chap. 8.

weak, and despicable reign of John of England, conquered Normandy in the year 1205, and carrying his victorious army into the western provinces, soon reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poictou, under his dominion; and in this manner "the French crown, during the reign of one able and active prince, received such an accession of power and grandeur, as, in the ordinary course of things, would have required several ages to attain."*

The English connexion, however, though it may have ultimately contributed to its aggrandizement, was very calamitous to France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The crown had descended from father to son in the line of primogeniture, through eleven generations, from Hugh Capet to Lewis Hutin. The latter dying without male issue was succeeded by his brother Philip the long, and he in like manner by a third brother, Charles the fair. Charles also dying without male issue, his nearest male relative, Philip de Valois his cousin german, with the almost unanimous approbation of the French, in 1328 ascended the vacant throne. The warlike Edward the third of England, though he at first recognized the right of Philip, yet afterwards claimed the French crown in right of his mother Isabella, sister of Charles the fair. This claim was futile, since the custom of France admitted no female right of regal succession, and, since, if it were admitted, the claims of other females were preferable to that of Isabella.

* Hume, vol. ii. chap. 11.

But

English
Invasion.

But Edward, who failed in weight of legal argument, had recourse to the logic of kings, and, invading France on the side of the Netherlands, commenced in 1339 a ruinous war, in which after fruitless campaigns, truces, and inroads on different sides of the country, he obtained in 1346, at Crecy in Picardy, by superior generalship and discipline, one of the most bloody and decisive victories recorded in history, with near thirty thousand men over an army four times as numerous, which was led to the charge in a confused multitude without coolness or caution. Ten years after this another victory in like circumstances, and not less decisive, was gained by his son Edward, stiled the black prince, from the colour of his armour, near Poitiers in Poictou, where the brave and generous, but incautious and precipitate John king of France, who had succeeded his father Philip de Valois, was taken prisoner. After this terrible disaster the state of France was altogether deplorable, her territories ravaged in the course of a long and cruel war, her king led captive into a foreign land, her nobility and people divided by furious factions, her soldiery mutinous, and her peasantry, no longer able to bear an accumulated load of complicated misery, rising in a phrensy of despair into a bloody insurrection, distinguished in history by the name of the Jacquerie.

The
Jaquerie.

That most useful and estimable, but unfortunately most despised and neglected class of mortals, whose manual labour cultivates the soil and maintains the community, seems to have been always treated

treated with uncommon rigor in France, and to have felt their condition more than elsewhere, at least, when goaded into resistance, to have retaliated on their superiors with peculiar atrocity. Some insurrections of the harassed peasants took place in early ages of the Christian era, while the country yet retained the name of Gaul, and was under the dominion of imperial Rome. The insurgents were then denominated *Bagaudæ*, a term of uncertain etymology which denoted a peculiar species of rebels. One of these insurrections, perhaps the chief, is described in a few words by the prince of modern historians, and, with a change of names and times, agrees in almost all circumstances with the more modern *Jacquerie*. This happened about the year 287 in the reign of the emperor Maximian. "During the long series of troubles which agitated Gaul, from the reign of Gallienus to that of Diocletian, the condition of these servile peasants was peculiarly miserable; and they experienced at once the complicated tyranny of their masters, of the barbarians, of the soldiers, and of the officers of the revenue. Their patience was at last provoked into despair. On every side they rose in multitudes, armed with rustic weapons, and with irresistible fury. The ploughman became a foot soldier, the shepherd mounted on horseback, the deserted villages and open towns were abandoned to the flames, and the ravages of the peasants equalled those of the fiercest barbarians. They asserted the natural rights of men, but they asserted those rights with the most savage cruelty."*

* Gibbon, vol. ii. chap. 13.

The servile insurrection of the year 1358 received its name of *la Jacquerie* from a contemptuous term *Jacque bon homme* given in derision to the afflicted peasantry by the proud unfeeling nobles, who added the sting of insult to galling oppression. The atrocities of the insurgents are too horrible to be related; but utility demands that historical truths should never be concealed. The gentry were hunted like wild beasts, and slaughtered wherever found; their wives and daughters were first publicly violated and then butchered; their castles burned; and some gentlemen are said to have been impaled and roasted alive over a slow fire. O God of mercy! when will the great become sensible that their own solid happiness is included in that of the community to which they belong; and that, if by pride and oppression they stifle the feelings of humanity in the breasts of their fellow creatures, and convert them into tigers, they know not how soon themselves and their helpless offspring may suffer the dire effects of that ferocity which their selfishness has occasioned? The horrors of this commotion continued not long. The nobles collected their forces and put to the sword many thousands of the insurgents. The insurrection ended like that of the Bagaudæ, as the same great historian has related. "The strength of union and discipline obtained an easy victory over a licentious and divided multitude. A severe retaliation was inflicted on the peasants who were found in arms; the affrighted remnant returned to their respective habitations, and their unsuccessful effort for freedom served only to confirm their slavery."

Peace

Peace was made with England in 1360, and by the prudent conduct of Charles the fifth, surnamed the wise, the son of John, who died in London, order was gradually restored in the affairs of France, and the kingdom recovered some degree of vigor. That vigor was exerted, and in 1370 war was made on the English, who were soon expelled, excepting Calais, from their late acquisitions in France, acquired by a war of above twenty years, and even from the ancient French possessions of the English crown, excepting Bourdeaux and Bayonne. "The events of this reign, compared with those of the preceding, are a proof how little reason kingdoms have to value themselves on their victories or to be humbled by their defeats; which in reality ought to be ascribed chiefly to the good or bad conduct of their rulers, and go a very little way towards determining national characters and manners."*

But France was destined early in the next century to invite by her domestic distractions a foreign force, and to suffer a still deeper impression from the sword of the English. An elegant and philosophic historian, many of whose remarks are well worthy of attention, has observed that "the successes which the arms of England have, in different ages, obtained over those of France, have been much owing to the favorable situation of the former kingdom. The English, happily seated in an island, could make advantage of every misfortune which attended their neighbours, and were little

Second
English
Invasion.

* Hume's Hist. England, vol. ii. chap. 16.

exposed to the danger of retaliation. They never left their own country but when conducted by a king of extraordinary genius, or found their enemy divided by intestine factions, or were supported by a powerful alliance on the continent."* All these circumstances, as the same writer observes, concurred on this occasion to favor their enterprize, and their success was for a time proportional to the expectations which might thence be derived.

Charles the sixth of France, who had succeeded his father Charles the wise, falling into an imbecility of body and mind which rendered him incapable of holding with any degree of steadiness the reins of government, two rival chiefs, the heads of two opposite factions, aspired to the administration of the state, Lewis duke of Orleans, brother to the king, and John duke of Burgundy, his cousin german. The former being treacherously assassinated by partizans employed for that purpose by the latter, the rival factions flew to arms, and rendered France a woful scene of mutual butchery and devastation, under the names of Burgundians and Armagnacs. The king and royal family often saw themselves captives in the hands of an enraged populace, and their ministers put to death before their faces. Induced by the melancholy disunion and distraction of the French, Henry the fifth of England, as brave a prince as ever lavished the blood and treasure of that kingdom, following the ungenerous maxim, adopted by most statesmen, of augmenting the miseries of a neighbouring nation

* Hume, vol. iii. chap. 19.

in the hope of thence deriving some imaginary advantage, advanced pretensions to the crown of France, pretensions more futile than the futile claim of Edward the third, and invaded Normandy with a formidable army. The same year 1415 after having taken Harfleur, and put the garrison to the sword, he gave the French army at Agincour in Artois a defeat as decisive as those which had been formerly sustained at Crecy and Poitiers.

The three great battles of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincour, bear a singular resemblance one to another in their most considerable circumstances. In all appeared on the side of the English the same temerity of invasion, but in the day of action the same presence of mind, dexterity, courage, firmness, and precaution: On the side of the French the same precipitation, confusion, and vain confidence.* The consequences, not immediately great in appearance, were similarly disastrous.

The success of the English allayed not the fierce animosity of the contending factions. The duke of Burgundy experienced in his turn the treachery, of which he had set so fatal an example, assassinated at a conference by some zealots of the Armagnacs. The civil war blazed with redoubled fury, as if the parties were bent on mutual extermination. Let one instance of the various butcheries committed by both suffice. In 1418 the Burgundians, gaining the superiority in Paris, filled the prisons, and, feigning an apprehension of rescue, massacred the prisoners and others to the number of seventeen

* Hume, vol. iii. chap. 19.

thousand persons, among whom was the count of Armagnac father-in-law to the young duke of Orleans, whose father had been assassinated.*

Henry, combining his forces with the powerful Burgundian faction, and thereby obtaining possession of Paris, was declared by the states of France regent and heir of the realm. Arrested by death in the career of success in 1422, he bequeathed his ill-grounded claims to his infant son Henry the sixth, who was proclaimed, and some time after, crowned king of France. Victory still attended the English, conducted by able generals and aided by the Burgundians. All the provinces northward of the Loire fell into their hands, and the rightful heir of France, Charles the seventh, taking refuge in the south, was regarded as in circumstances altogether desperate. How vain are the hopes and objects of ambitious monarchs! The English soon awoke from their dream of conquest: A female rustic turned against them the tide of war, which in a few years swept them from the French territories.

Joan
d'Arc.

Joan of Arc, called also the maid of Orleans, aged twenty-seven years, who was servant at an inn in the village of Domremi on the borders of Lorraine, feigning, or believing, herself inspired from above, and commissioned by divine authority to heal the distractions of her bleeding country, put herself, with consent of the generals, at the head of the French army, and drove the English from the siege of Orleans. After several overthrows of

* Histoire de France, par Villar, tome xiii. p. 461—475.

the English, this extraordinary heroine conducted Charles to Rheims the solemn place of coronation, where he received the diadem, and was consecrated with holy oil feigned to have been brought from heaven to Clovis by a dove, and preserved there for the unction of the French monarchs. Though she was taken prisoner at length, and with the most ungenerous cruelty burnt alive by the English, the flame which she had kindled in the breasts of her countrymen was not extinguished by her death. The English interest in France declined continually. The weakness of both parties, unable to prosecute the war, induced them to agree to a truce in 1443. Six years after, when France had in some degree healed her wounds, and recovered some share of vigor, the English were again attacked, and in 1450 expelled from every part of France excepting Calais. Thus ended the unjust, and consequently impolitic, enterprizes of the English monarchs for the subjugation of France; enterprizes which would have been far more calamitous in success than they were in defeat.

Charles the seventh, who finally expelled the English intruders, was the first monarch in Europe who established a regular permanent military force, in place of tumultuary feudal troops occasionally collected, and of mercenary bands of disciplined adventurers occasionally employed. By this and the extinction of many noble families in the wars against the English, by which many fiefs were reunited to the crown, the feudal aristocracy was debilitated, the regal prerogative amplified, the administration

Augmen-
tation of
the mo-
narchy.

administration of justice rendered more extensive and efficacious, and avigor before unknown diffused throughout the state. His son and successor Lewis the eleventh, a sanguinary tyrant, but in some respects no ordinary politician, who mounted the throne in 1461, extended the monarchy by annexing to the crown Roussillon, Provence, Burgundy, and Artois, and, rendering his power absolute, completed the exaltation of the throne on the ruins of the aristocracy. By the marriage of Charles the eighth, the son of this political tyrant, in 1491, with Anne heiress of Bretagne, that powerful fief was annexed to the French crown, and France by such gradations rose to a very formidable state.

After the death of Henry the second, who was killed by accident at a tournament in 1559, new doctrines of religion, which had taken root in France, caused a renovation of civil wars and calamities. The disciples of Calvinism, named Hugonots in France, turned with desperate fury against the Catholics who persecuted them with infernal cruelty, and every part of the kingdom felt the bloody effects of religious discord. After alternate hostilities and cessations of arms a perfect reconciliation was proposed by the court, and all seemed peace; but the calm was fallacious; a general massacre of the Hugonots was planned, and on the eve of Saint Bartholomew in the year 1572 in the reign of Charles the ninth, the butchery was begun, and more, probably far more, than seventy thousand protestants assassinated. This nefarious plot
answered

answered not the end of its authors: the Calvinists were exasperated, not extirpated: all faith being dissolved, the contest became more fierce and implacable. These baleful feuds, in which, under pretence of love to God, men displayed the utmost rancor of infernal hatred, were at length allayed by the heroic Henry the fourth, the first prince of the house of Bourbon, the most illustrious monarch of whom France could ever boast, a protestant in education and principle, but for the peace of his people a convert to popery; who subdued all opposition, tolerated the protestants, and labored to rectify the morbid state of his long distracted country.

Ravaillac a friar, instigated by that fell spirit of bigotry which has caused the most unspeakable calamities to mankind, having assassinated this great and amiable prince in 1610, the kingdom relapsed into weakness and distraction; but the genius of cardinal Richlieu, the supple, acute, profoundly politic, and inflexibly cruel minister of Lewis the thirteenth, the son and successor of the magnanimous Henry, suppressed the factions of the great, destroyed the power of the Hugonots by taking in 1628 their strong hold, the city of Rochelle, and brought France to be again subjected to the absolute will of a monarch.

To the last mentioned king, who died in 1643, succeeded his son Lewis the fourteenth, the most flattered by the French of all their monarchs, a prince of extraordinary majesty of deportment, but, from education rather than from nature, of a narrow,

row, selfish, bigoted, imperious, and vain glorious mind, the oppressor of his people, and the bully of Europe, but an encourager of learning; who strained the royal prerogative to its utmost stretch, loaded his subjects with enormous taxes, and lavished their money in regal magnificence, the erection of splendid palaces, the parade of a court, armies, navies, and wars waged for the subjugation of his neighbours. In these wars, by which he turmoiled all Europe, he was too successful, augmenting his kingdom by the annexion of Franche-comté, Alsace, Lorraine, and part of the Low Countries. But weak and childish to contempt and ridicule are the projects of such ambition! Every acre of conquered land cost ten in France left waste and unproductive by the impoverishment of his people; every German or Flemish subject thus acquired cost the lives of five French; and the immensity of his debts and taxes operated to sap the monarchy to his offspring, and to generate that sudden and terrible revolution, which like a crash of thunder hurled Lewis the sixteenth from his throne, and brought his neck to the guillotine.

Govern-
ment.

The monarchy of France, which under the first race of kings was controlled by democracy, under the second by aristocracy, and under the third became absolute, was brought by Lewis the fourteenth to that state of despotism in which it continued to the great revolution. The monarch was styled king of France and Navarre, though the latter country had remained absorbed in the Spanish monarchy since the year 1509. He was also denomi-
nated

nated the most Christian king, an honor conferred, on account of his deference to the holy see, by the supreme pontiff on Lewis the eleventh the most bloody of all the French tyrants. The succession of the monarch was by hereditary right in the direct line of primogeniture, with a total exclusion of females from the throne, and his minority expired at the completion of the thirteenth year of his age. His subjects addressed him with the appellation of sire. His eldest son bore the title of Dauphin, a title acquired in 1349, when Humbert count of Dauphiné retired to a monastery, and ceded that province to Philip the sixth of France, on condition that the prince who should be vested with the county should be so styled. The rest of the kings sons bore particular titles, as that of duke of Anjou, or Berry; but his daughters were styled simply mesdames de France, or my ladies of France. In the royal armorial three fleurs de Lys, or flowers de Luce, held the principal place; and the war-cry of the royal troops was *Montjoye Saint Denis*. The royal motto, or device armorial, was *Lilia neque laborant neque nent*.

To particularize the ministers, magistrates, councils, and courts, employed in the various departments of this vast system of government, subservient to the absolute will of a master, and now shivered and annihilated by the revolution, is unnecessary; but it may be observed that in the constitution of France two checks still remained, which operated to restrain in some degree the regal prerogative, and to distinguish it from eastern despotism:

potism: these were the dignity of the nobles, and the jurisdiction of the parliaments.

The
Nobles.

“ Though the nobles of France had lost that political power which was vested in their order as a body, they still retained the personal rights and pre-eminence which they derived from their rank. They preserved a consciousness of elevation above other classes of citizens; an exemption from burdens to which *they* were subject; a contempt of the occupations in which they were engaged; the privilege of assuming ensigns which indicated their dignity; a title to be treated with a certain degree of deference during peace; and a claim to various distinctions when in the field. Many of these pretensions were not founded on the words of statutes, or derived from positive laws: they were defined and ascertained by the maxims of honor, a title more delicate, but no less sacred. These rights, established and protected by a principle equally vigilant in guarding, and intrepid in defending them, are to the sovereign himself objects of respect and veneration. Wherever they stand in its way, the royal prerogative is bounded. The violence of a despot may exterminate such an order of men; but as long as it subsists, and its ideas of personal distinction remain entire, the power of the prince has limits.”*

These nobles, forming a body quite unconnected with the commons, privileged by exemption from various burdens, and so numerous as to have been estimated at two hundred thousand persons, or forty

* Robertson's Introduction to Charles the 5th.

thousand families in number, were distinguished into four degrees or ranks, the discriminations of which are not necessary to be here given; the princes of the blood royal in their several branches; the high nobility; the ancient ordinary nobility; and the low nobility, or persons newly ennobled by the monarch, the fountain of honor.

The parliaments of France, notwithstanding the identity of name, were of a nature totally different from that of Britain. They were courts of judicature, thirteen in number, instituted at different times, and fixed at different cities; but that of Paris was the original, the model on which all the rest were formed, the most eminent and respectable. The Parliaments

“ The parliament of Paris was originally the court of the kings of France, to which they committed the supreme administration of justice within their own domains, as well as the power of deciding with respect to all causes brought before it by appeals from the courts of the barons. When the time and place of its meeting were fixed; when not only the forms of its procedure, but the principles on which it decided, were rendered regular and consistent; when every cause of importance was finally determined there; and when people became accustomed to resort thither as to the supreme temple of justice, the parliament of Paris rose to high estimation in the kingdom, its members acquired dignity, and its decrees were submitted to with deference.

The kings of France, when they first began to assume the legislative power, in order to reconcile the

the

the minds of the people to this new exertion of prerogative, produced their edicts and ordonnances in the parliament of Paris, that they might be approved and registered there, before they were published and declared to be of authority in the kingdom. During the intervals between the meetings of the states general of the kingdom, or under the reigns when the states general were not assembled, the monarchs of France were accustomed to consult the parliament of Paris with respect to the most arduous affairs of government, and frequently regulated their conduct by its advice, in declaring war, in concluding peace, and in other transactions of public concern. Thus there was erected in the kingdom a tribunal which became the great depositary of the laws, and by the uniform tenor of its decrees it established principles of justice, and forms of proceeding, which were considered as so sacred that even the sovereign power of the monarch durst not venture to disregard or to violate them. The members of this illustrious body, though they neither possessed legislative authority, nor could be considered as the representatives of the people, availed themselves of the reputation and influence which they had acquired among their countrymen, in order to make a stand to the utmost of their ability against every unprecedented and exorbitant exertion of the prerogative. In every period of the French history they have merited the praise of being the virtuous but feeble guardians of the rights and privileges of the nation.

When the practice of verifying and registering the

the royal edicts in the parliament of Paris became common, the parliament contended that this was necessary in order to give them legal authority. It was established as a fundamental maxim in French jurisprudence, that no law could be published in any other manner; that without this formality no edict or ordonnance could have any effect; that the people were not bound to obey it, and ought not to consider it as an edict or ordonnance until it was verified in the supreme court after free deliberation. The Parliament at different times hath with great fortitude and integrity opposed the will of their sovereigns, and notwithstanding their repeated and peremptory requisitions and commands, hath refused to verify and publish such edicts as it conceived to be oppressive to the people, or subversive of the constitution of the kingdom.

But the power of the parliament, to maintain and defend this privilege, bore no proportion to its importance, or to the courage with which its members asserted it. When any monarch was determined that an edict should be carried into execution, and found the parliament inflexibly resolved not to verify or publish it, he could easily supply this defect by the plenitude of his regal power. He repaired to the Parliament in person; he took possession of his seat of justice, and commanded the edict to be read, verified, registered, and published, in his presence. Thus by an exertion of prerogative, which, though violent, seemed to be constitutional, and has been justified by innumerable precedents,

precedents, all the efforts of the parliament to limit and control the king's legislative authority were rendered ineffectual."* This violent act of the king was termed the holding of a *bed of justice*. Sometimes the irritated monarch proceeded farther, and punished the opposition of the members by exile or imprisonment. The modes of proceeding in the provincial parliaments were the same, by whom were published the edicts concerning their respective provinces.

States
General.

To the prerogative of the king that occasional, and long discontinued assembly, which was called the States General of France, gave no impediment. Under the first and second race of kings, a general national assembly was held once or twice in the year, composed of the nobility, clergy, and freemen, or their representatives, in the open air when the weather permitted it. When the feudal aristocracy grew into exorbitant power, these assemblies, in which resided the real sovereignty, seem to have been discontinued, and the kings of the third race assumed that legislative authority which the nation had relinquished, and gradually extended it as their possessions and power encreased. Instead of the national assembly we find another brought into use, that of the States-General, consisting of the deputies of the nobility, clergy, and chartered towns, or, as the last were termed, the *tiers etat*, or third estate; and that in 1355 the members of this assembly were eight hundred in number, and above half of these were deputies from towns.

* Robertson's Introduction.

“The assemblies distinguished by the name of the States-General were first called in the year 1302, and were held occasionally from that period to the year 1614, since which time they have not been summoned” until the commencement of the great revolution. “These were very different from the ancient assemblies of the French nation under the kings of the first and second race. There is no point with respect to which the French antiquarians are more generally agreed, than in maintaining that the States-General had no suffrage in the passing of laws, and possessed no proper jurisdiction. The whole tenor of the French history confirms this opinion. The form of proceeding in the States-General was this. The king addressed himself to the whole body assembled in one place, and laid before them the affairs on account of which he had summoned them. The deputies of each of the three orders, of nobles, of clergy, and of the third estate, met apart, and prepared their *cabier* or memorial, containing their answers to the propositions which had been made to them, together with the representations which they thought proper to lay before the king. These answers and representations were considered by the king in his council, and generally gave rise to an ordonnance. These ordinances were not addressed to the three estates in common. Sometimes the king addressed an ordonnance to each of the estates in particular. Sometimes he mentioned the assembly of the three estates. Sometimes mention is made only of the assembly of that estate to which the ordonnance is

addressed. Sometimes no mention at all is made of the assembly of estates which suggested the propriety of enacting the law. Thus the States-General had only the privilege of advising and remonstrating: the legislative authority resided in the king alone."* The main purpose however for which they were assembled was the granting of subsidies and the imposition of taxes; but this, with every other power of the state, being usurped by the monarch, this assembly fell into contempt and was at length discontinued.

Some provinces preserved the privilege of holding their particular or provincial states for the raising of taxes, and the regulation of internal concerns. These, as Bretagne, Burgundy, Dauphine, Provence, and the French Netherlands, were termed *päis d'états*, or countries of states.

Laws.

The laws of France consisted of the edicts of her kings, local customs, and the Roman law. The first prevailed every where; the second were followed in some provinces, and the third in others; which caused a distinction of *päis de droit écrit*, or countries of written law, and *pais coutumiers*, or countries of customs. To the former class belonged Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiné, Lyonnois, Forest, Beaujolois, a part of Auvergne, and some others. But whatever were the laws, the administration and execution of them was altogether shocking and detestable. No colour of justice in trials of person or property could be expected: the tribunals were quite venal: interest

* Robertson's Introduction.

and influence predominated uncontrolled, and the lower orders had no kind of safeguard against the tyranny of the great. "The conduct of the parliaments was profligate and atrocious. Upon almost every cause that came before them, interest was openly made with the judges; and woe betided the man who, with a cause to support, had no means of conciliating favor, either by the beauty of a handsome wife or by other methods."*

The game laws, in general horribly and wantonly tyrannical, were peculiarly so in those many and extensive tracts which were denominated capitaineries, appropriated to the barbarous venatic amusement of princes of the blood, and occupying a great proportion of the kingdom. Here the wretched peasants beheld, and beheld without daring to resist, great herds of wild swine, deer, and other game, unconfined by any kind of fence, roaming at large, and devouring the fruits of their afflictive labor, intended for the support of their helpless and starving children. Among numerous other oppressions, these unhappy laborers were prohibited, from weeding and hoeing, lest the young partridges should be destroyed; from steeping their feed, lest it should injure the game; from manuring with night-soil, lest the flavor of the birds should be affected by feeding on the corn thence produced; from mowing their hay before a certain time, which was so late as often to ruin the crop; and from taking away the stubble, lest the birds

* Younge's Tour in France, vol. ii. p. 513. Dub. 1793.

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* Younge's Tour in France, vol. ii. p. 513. Dub. 1793.

should not have shelter.* To kill any game, or even to handle a dead partridge found by accident, was a crime: the offender was punished with worse than death, a slavery in the galleys!

As the sentences of judges were arbitrary in France, and the modes of administration admitted no fair trial, so the punishments were atrociously cruel and iniquitous. Excepting where the offender was beheaded, the disgrace of his family was added to the horrors of his execution: they were thereby rendered incapable of receiving any civil employment, or of being admitted into the orders of the church. Where death was inflicted, it was generally accompanied with excruciating tortures. To break the bones, then roll the battered body into a lump, and burn it to ashes, was not the severest kind of punishment.

Regal
cruelties.

An unrelenting rigor of punishment, with a relaxation of justice, could not have a salutary influence on the dispositions of the nation. Beside the numbers who perished under the torturing instruments of the public executioners, a shamefully numerous class in France, some of the monarchs made particular exhibitions of a cruelty quite infernal. Of these a few instances will be more than sufficient, and more than can be welcome to the humanity of the reader.

In the year 613, queen Brunehaut, the mother and grandmother of kings, and a woman of whom some historians have given an amiable character, was, by order of Clotaire the second, delivered

* Younger, vol. ii. p. 508.

over to the insults of a brutal soldiery, then consigned to the horrible pangs of torture under the diabolical hands of executioners, and lastly torn to pieces by being tied to the tail of a wild horse, by which she was dragged at full gallop over stones and thorns.* Philip the fourth, surnamed the fair, who died in the year 1314, excited at once by malice and avidity, accused of incredible crimes the noble and wealthy order of knights templars, and, in order to force a confession, put above a hundred of them to the torture, under the severity of which many of them expired: he burned fifty-four alive on a slow fire at Paris, many more in other parts of the kingdom, and confiscated their effects to his own use.* Lewis the eleventh put above four thousand persons to death by causing them to pass upon a spring trap, whence they were precipitated into horrible dungeons, where they perished with horror, hunger, and despair. He caused the duke of Nemours to be carried in an iron cage, tortured, and at length executed. His innocent sons were dragged under the scaffold to receive on their bodies the blood which fell from their father. They were then cast into holes in the bastile of a conical form, where their feet could find no resting place, nor their bodies repose. Twice every week they were scourged, and once every three months a tooth was wrenched from the

* Des Carrieres Hist. France, vol. i. p. 28. Fredegarius Chron. cap. 32. Bouquet, *ibid.* 430.

* Vertot, Hist. de Chev. de Malte, tome ii. p. 127—142. Trivet, Cont. p. 8.

jaw of each. The elder became mad, but the younger miraculously survived this horrible treatment, and obtained his liberty on the death of the tyrant.*

As the nation advanced in refinement of manners, the government seemed to advance in refinement of cruelty. The execution of Damien, an event in the memory of many of my readers, was the consummation of human malice. This man so miserably famous, was plainly a lunatic: By some unaccountable impulse of mind he attempted to stab Lewis the fifteenth, and intrepidly avowed the deed. Doubtless the action merited the punishment of death, nor ought madness to be admitted as a plea for murder, much less for regicide. But to what purpose tended the inconceivable torments of this unhappy being? Incisions were made into the muscular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured. He was fastened to a bed of iron, which allowed not a moment's intermission of excruciating torment. A physician had the dreadful office of constantly attending to observe what degree of pain the wretch could support without the extinction of life. One of his hands was burned in liquid flaming sulphur: all his limbs were torn with red-hot pincers: boiling oil, melted lead, flaming resin, and burning sulphur, were poured into the wounds; and at length, after a series of all the tortures which nature could bear, his legs and arms were made fast to vigorous horses harnessed for the purpose, which, pulling his body

* Des Carrieres, vol. ii. p. 6.

above an hour to the utmost extent of his sinews, tore his limbs asunder in the end, and he expired in the extremity of pain. His family were banished the kingdom for ever; the name of Damien obliterated; and thus, as was usual in this tyrannous government, the innocent involved in the punishment.

Omitting executions, were we to enumerate the incarcerations of multitudes of persons confined for life, sequestered from all intercourse with the world and from the light of day, the dismal catalogue would fill many volumes. *Lettres de cachet*, or orders for arrest and imprisonment, were procurable by interest at court, with blanks for the names of the persons to be imprisoned, which blanks were to be filled at pleasure by the persons who procured them. The *marechausse*, or military police, consisting of cavalry and infantry, dispersed throughout the kingdom for the protection of society against robbers and other violators of the peace, were as ready instruments as the standing army to execute such clandestine schemes of iniquity. Thus private malice was glutted, and thus wives and daughters were sacrificed to the lust of men of court interest, who by this mode conveyed the husbands and fathers from sight. Numbers were yearly incarcerated, "torn by the relentless hand of jealous tyranny from the bosom of domestic comfort, from wives, children, friends, and hurried for crimes unknown to themselves—perhaps," and far more probably, "for virtues—to languish in these detested abodes of misery, and die

die of despair! Oh liberty, liberty! The dispensations of providence seem to have permitted the human race to exist only as the prey of tyrants, as it has made pigeons for the prey of hawks."* When thousands of spies and informers, employed and paid by government, were dispersed in every part of the kingdom, and infested society, no man could be secure: an innocent expression might be made a crime, and an accusation invented, when no grounds for it could be discovered.

Oppres-
sion.

The great evils, however, sustained by the main body of the people, were excessive and unequal taxation, oppressive services, and the too strictly exacted rights, or claims, of a feudal nobility implicated in the French system of absolute monarchy. The taxes were so iniquitously imposed as to lie heaviest on those who were least able to bear them; the nobles and clergy enjoying certain exemptions; besides that in such a system where a gradation of delegated despotism obtained, the managers of the revenue favored some, and augmented the load on others. The *corvée*, or the making of roads and other public works by compulsory labor, was annually the cause of ruin to hundreds of farmers; but the feudal rights of nobles over the tenants, unnecessary, and too numerous, to be here specified, were the grounds of exactions so vexatious and tyrannical, as almost to exhaust the very vitals of the wretched peasantry.

Revenue.

The immensity of the public burdens would have required an equitable imposition. The annual

* Young's Tour, vol. i. p. 85.

revenue of the French crown amounted at the revolution to above twenty-seven millions of British pounds, beside above two millions and a half for the expence of collection. The national debt, incurred by the puerile extravagance of successive monarchs, exceeded the sum of two hundred and eighty-four millions. The circulating cash, or metal money of France, was estimated at above ninety millions, a sum exceeding the double of that of Britain, but the latter country was greatly superior in paper money. A detail of the taxes, by which this vast revenue, distinguished into ordinary and extraordinary, was raised, could not be interesting. Among the ordinary taxes we may observe that the aides were imposts on goods imported, or exported, or sold within the kingdom. The taille, from which the nobles and clergy were exempt, excepting in some districts, was a kind of land tax. The gabelles were revenues raised by the sale of salt, which was differently taxed in different provinces, so as to cause a distinction of these into countries of the great gabelles, where it was sold at the highest price; those of the little gabelles, where the price was much lower; and the countries exempt from the gabelles, among which were Poitou and Bretagne. Among the extraordinary revenues, levied occasionally by edicts of the king registered by the parliaments, was the taillon, which was an augmentation of the land tax. To exemplify the rigor with which the revenue laws were enforced, I shall only observe that between three and four thousand persons were annually dragged to prison,
or

or to the slavery of the gallees for offences committed against the system of the gabelles.*

Forces.

The land forces of France, a principal cause of her immense debts, fell but little short of two hundred and fifty thousand men even in time of peace. Her armed navy, divided into the eastern and western departments, and stationed principally at the ports of Toulon, Brest, Port-Louis, Rochefort, and Havre de Grace, was composed of near two hundred and seventy ships, of which near eighty were of the line of battle, the largest bearing a hundred and thirty cannons, near eighty were frigates, and twenty were fireships. For the manning of such a navy above a hundred thousand sailors and marines were necessary. The chief object of these floating armaments, was the protection of transmarine settlements, a vain speculation, in which the politics of France were as erroneous as those of Britain. Her foreign possessions consisted of the town of Pondicherry, and some less considerable stations on the Indian coasts; the Isle of France and the island of Bourbon in the Indian Ocean; the isle of Gorée, and several fortresses on the coasts of Guinea and Nigritia; the Bastion of France on the coast of Barbary: the isles of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon in the North-American seas; some plantations in Guiana in South-America; and in the great West-Indian archipelago, the islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, Saint-Lucia, Maria-

Foreign
possession-
sions.

* Recherches et Considerations par le Baron de Cormeré, tome i. p. 112. t. ii. p. 187.

Galante, Saint-Martin, Tobago, and part of the vast island of Hispaniola, or Saint-Domingo.

To the load of taxes for the support of so vast a Religion. system of civil and military government were added tythes for the maintenance of the religious establishment. At what time precisely a knowledge of the gospel was first introduced into this country cannot be discovered, but no assured marks of the Christian faith are found earlier than about the middle of the second century. It advanced, as in other provinces of the vast Roman empire, and was completely established at the end of the fourth century. The various Gothic tribes who conquered the country were pagans, but they soon became converts to the more sublime doctrines of the subjugated people. Clovis and his Franks adopted the creed of the Catholics, and enforced their new faith in all the extent of their dominion, suppressing the Arian heresy which had been held by the Visigoths.

The church of France remained attached to that of Rome till the time of the great revolution, and made an ample demonstration of its bigotry in the persecution of two sects of religionists in two periods of its history. The former of these were the Albigeois, or Albigenes, the most innocent of mankind, but enthusiasts in some points of doctrine not agreeable to the papal claims. These, inhabiting Toulouse and the neighbouring parts, were, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, by a crusade published against them by the holy pontiff, exterminated, after a desperate resistance, with that diabolical

diabolical cruelty which has so peculiarly characterized the spirit of the Romish religion. The latter were the Calvinists, or, as they were termed in France, Hugonots, whose tenets were disseminated in the French territories in the sixteenth century, and whose persecution was so rigorous that, as a philosophical historian observes, "a point of honor seemed to have arisen whether the one sect could exercise, or the other suffer, most barbarity; and it was during this period, when men began to be somewhat enlightened, and in this nation renowned for polished manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in mens veins, seems to have attained its last stage of virulence and ferocity."* By the edict of Nantz, issued by the great Henry the fourth, the legal exercise of their worship was permitted to the Calvinists; but after his death religious wars again arose, and the Hugonots were brought under subjection by the capture of Rochelle. They enjoyed, however, a kind of toleration till the time of Lewis the fourteenth, who in 1685, after having long harassed and molested the protestants, revoked entirely the edict of Nantz, and made a most furious persecution. Above half a million of these people, the most ingenious and industrious of the French, deserted their country to its irreparable detriment:—great numbers remained under concealment, and their posterity were found numerous at the time of the revolution.

But notwithstanding the bigoted attachment of

* Hume, vol. v. chap. 39, 40.

the French monarchs to the papal see, they were generally tenacious of the privileges of the Gallican church, as that of France was denominated. Even the persecuting Lewis the fourteenth, whose chief religion, however, was a faith in the plenitude of royal power, opposed the exorbitant pretensions of the sovereign pontiff, and a general assembly of the French clergy in 1682 enounced the doctrine of the Gallican church in four articles, the substance of which was, that the ecclesiastical power has no authority over the temporal concerns of princes; that a general council is superior to the pope, according to the decision of the council of Constance; that the customs and laws received in the Gallican church ought to be maintained; and that the judgment of the sovereign pontiff, in matters of faith, is not infallible without the consent of the church.

Notwithstanding the uniformity of discipline and worship in the Gallican church, the nation was agitated above half a century by religious disputes between two sects of Roman catholics, termed Molinists and Jansenists. The former, who took their denomination from a Spanish jesuit Molina, a writer on their side, entertained a lax and dangerous system of morality, a principal point of which was, that the heart may contradict what the mouth pronounces, and that men are not bound to fulfill the engagements against which they have internally protested at the time of contracting them. Hence the term jesuitical has been applied to schemes of duplicity

duplicity. The system of the Jansenists, so named from Jansenius, a Flemish bishop who had written a confutation of Molinism, was rigorous and severe, the foundation of which was that the grace of God is necessary even to the just for the fulfilling of his commandments, and that man can never resist it. A bull issued by the pope, termed the constitution *Unigenitus* because it begins with that word, a bull which tends to subvert the pillars of Christianity, condemned the doctrines of the Jansenists. The French clergy refused the sacraments to those who refused to subscribe the constitution: the parliaments prosecuted the clergy for such refusal: the king commanded the parliaments to desist from their prosecutions; and to such a degree of violence was the contest carried, that in the year 1753 a general insurrection of the people against the king and clergy would have taken place if they had not been overawed by a numerous army. These vexatious disputes at length subsided by the destruction of the jesuitical order, which had subsisted too long for the welfare of society.

The ecclesiastical establishment of this great kingdom was ample in proportion to its civil and military system. The hierarchy was composed of nineteen archbishops and a hundred and eighteen bishops. The number of parishes was almost forty thousand; that of the clergy was variously stated from eighty thousand to double that number, beside monks and nuns, who were supposed to have amounted formerly to two hundred thousand, though they had

had become less numerous before the revolution.* The annual revenues of the clergy have been variously estimated: they probably exceeded seven millions of British pounds: those of the hierarchy were stated at no more than three hundred thousand; but the whole applied to the support of religious establishments collectively taken must have been very great, tythes for the parochial clergy, and lands for monasteries, prelacies, abbeys, and other foundations. The abbot of Saint-Germain, the richest indeed in France, received a yearly income of more than thirteen thousand pounds.

For the support of hospitals, colleges, and other charitable and literary institutions, large funds have also been appropriated, funds less liable to be affected by a revolution of government. In twenty Universities, the number established in France, have absurd scholastic divinity, absurd metaphysics, and the logical art of quibbling, by an abuse of language termed philosophy, been hitherto cultivated. In these universities, however, to the rest of which that of Paris is considered as pre-eminent and as the maternal source, these barbarous objects of barren study, held not an exclusive place. To real sciences, as mathematics, astronomy, and physics, some small share of attention, very small indeed in a general sense, was allowed. Much more

Universities.

* According to Moore (View of the French Revolution, vol. i. chap. 3.) the number of the clergy was 118,000, beside 40,000 monks, and 25,000 nuns. According to the anonymous account of an emigrant French viscount, the nuns were 80,000, the clergy secular and regular 366,264.

Litera-
ture.

promotive of literary culture and useful information were the Parisian academies of sciences, of antiquities, of inscriptions, of the French language, and various provincial societies and academies, whence have arisen many elegant and instructive writers, whose productions have spread the knowledge or the fame of French genius throughout Europe. To the freedom of the Gallican church, which nobly resisted the encroachments of papal authority, and to the only laudable ambition of Lewis the fourteenth, that which he displayed in the protection of arts and learning, is principally to be ascribed such a diffusion of literature in this nation as never elsewhere appeared under absolute monarchy. In depth of science and of research the scholars of this country have, collectively taken, been much inferior to those of Britain; but the vivid and fiery genius of the French excels in glow of stile, rapidity of thought, and brilliancy of fancy. A great, perhaps an elsewhere unequalled, number of both sexes were more or less improved by a tincture of polite literature, or what they termed the *belles lettres*; and with respect to the theatre, both in the composition and the action of dramatic pieces, more especially the latter, and still more especially with respect to comedy, France was without a rival.

Inhabi-
tants.

From history which informs us of the three distinct races of ancient Gauls, the Celts, Aquitani-ans, and Belgians; of colonies introduced under the dominion of the Romans; and of the more recent settlements of the Visigoths, Burgundians, Franks,

Franks, and other branches of the Gothic stem, we collect a mixed origin of the vast nation of the French. The Celtic blood may, however, be supposed the chief ingredient of the aggregate mass, if we may judge from the predominant personal traits of this nation, traits attributed by antiquarians to the Celtic, never to the Gothic race, a brownish colour of the skin, dark eyes, dark hair, and a not more than middling size of body and limbs. Provincial variations, or shades of personal aspect, still mark some varieties of the French ancestry. The people of Normandy, which received a great Scandinavian colony in the tenth century, bear a strong resemblance to the Danes and other Baltic nations. In lower Bretagne we recognize a kindred people of the Welch, quite different from their French neighbours in features and language. The Burgundians resemble the Francos of Germany; and the inhabitants of Gasconne are not very unlike the Andalusians of Southern Spain; both probably being descended from the ancient Aquitanians or Iberians, who are supposed to have colonized Spain and the southwestern parts of France from the shores of Africa. In general it may be allowed that the southern French have less vigor of limbs, a browner complexion, more fire and vivacity than the northern; and that both collectively are of a less athletic frame than their neighbours of Germany and Britain. This inferiority was chiefly observed in the peasants, whose growth was stunted by a miserable life of drudgery and hunger under the unfeeling

or unthinking cruelty of the nobles.* Such was the effect of their wretched lot in the female peasantry as to obliterate all that charming symmetry of person and feminine softness which nature confers on the amiable sex, and to induce all the marks of anility before their thirtieth year.† The case is happily the reverse with the female gentry: none perhaps retain their charms to a later period. The beauty of the French ladies, which principally consists in graceful movement, animation of the frame, and expression of the countenance, arrives later to maturity, and is less perfect, than that of the British and German; but is more durable and more captivating. Their very souls appear, as it were, identified in their features, and seem to watch over their preservation.

Language.

Language, a less permanent and less unequivocal mark of ancestry than forms and colours, varies in France as in other extensive regions. The inhabitants of lower Bretagne retain a dialect of the Welch; those of French Flanders the Flemish; those of Alsace the German; those about Bayonne the Basque or language of Biscay; and those of Roussillon the Catalan, or Catalonian tongue. Each province has its particular vulgar dialect or *patois*: that of Gascogne may be chiefly derived from the ancient Aquitanic: that of Provence resembles the modern Italian: but the language of the gentry every where is the French, the most universally cultivated of all modern languages throughout Europe.

* Saint John's Letters.

† Younge, vol. i. p. 281.

Its foundation is the Latin, which by the long dominion of the Romans became the vernacular tongue of the Gauls. Corrupted by the rude organs and foreign dialects of peasants and barbarians, this noble classic language degenerated into what was called the *lingua Romana rustica*. In its progressive change it received the appellation of *Romance*; and, finally polished by the labors of learned individuals and societies, it assumed its present elegant form under the name of French,* and became one of the most smooth, polite, and pleasing languages of modern Europe; yet a language which with all its beauties is not considered as well adapted to poetry or fit for music.

Of habit or dress the standard of France has Habits; commonly been considered as the standard of Europe. From this the provincial forms of habili-ment among the peasantry vary, like their dialects. To attempt to specify these varieties could answer no adequate purpose; but we may observe that poverty in this class has made in one article too general a conformity, the *sabot* or wooden shoe, which is generally a piece of holly or other hard wood, formed nearly into an oval shape and hollowed for the reception of the foot. The fluctuating modes of attire, much less fluctuating however than those of Britain, adopted by the gentry, have long been regarded as the models which ought to be pursued, in all their fantastic and often absurd

* Mem. de l'Academie des inscriptions, tome xxiv. p. 582
—670.

variations, by the people of fashion in other parts of Europe.

Houses.

In modes of building, as in those of apparel, we find but little to remark in France. The roofs of large edifices, public and private, have been observed to be too heavy and of a clumsy appearance, so as to diminish the beauty of the whole, at least to a British eye.* The houses of the peasantry have commonly very few, or no, glass-windows. In some parts, as about Montauban in Quercy, the better sort are of a square form and white with flattish roofs; and in some, as about Auray in Bretagne, they are neatly built of stone and slated, yet without glass; but in general the dwellings of this class of people are miserable mudwalled cabins, sometimes with earthen chimneys, and sometimes with no other chimney than a hole through which the smoke makes tardily its way.† A species of dwellings on the banks of the Loire, near Saumur in Anjou, may on account of their singularity merit notice. "Where the chalk-hills advance perpendicularly toward the river, they present a most singular spectacle of uncommon habitations; for, a great number of houses are cut out of the white rock, fronted with masonry, and holes cut above for chimneys, so that you sometimes know not where the house is whence you see the smoke issuing. These cavern houses are in some places in tires one above another. Some with little scraps of gardens have a pretty effect. In general the

* Jardine's Letters, vol. i. p. 277.

* Younge, vol. i. p. 40. 42. 174. 177. 183, 544.

proprietors occupy them: but many are let for from ten to near fifteen shillings a year. The people seem well satisfied with their habitations as good and comfortable; a proof of the dryness of the air.*

Than those of attire and habitations not more is Food, to be said concerning the article of food. In the art of cookery the French are allowed a decisive pre-eminence. Some things rejected by the Britons are edibles in France, as frogs and snails; but by seasoning, hashing, and many various modes of preparation, the materials of the banquet are often quite disguised. A much less proportion of animal food, and a much greater of bread, is consumed in France than in Britain. Tea, coffee, chocolate, and some other exotics, particularly the first, are also less in general demand; yet tea in some of the seaports, as Rochelle, and coffee in some great towns, particularly Paris, seem to be as much in use as tea in the British islands. Breakfast often consists of bread, or bread and grapes, with a draught of water; and often is wholly omitted: soup is a favorite dish at dinner; and, in short, the aliments of the French are generally less gross than those of the Germans or Britons. The working peasantry, whose exhausting labor demands the most substantial kind and the greatest quantity of nourishment, are, here as elsewhere, obliged to acquiesce in the coarsest and most scanty fare, which they commonly season with garlic, onions, and other savory ingredients.

* Younge, vol. i. p. 106.

Manners.

Their attention to the arts of cookery, to culinary niceties for the pleasure of the palate, seems to indicate some frivolity of character, and frivolity has under their monarchic system been generally ascribed to the French. How far the manners of this great and extraordinary nation are the result of natural constitution, or of political and accidental causes, is not mine to determine. From the former must be derived a quick, fiery, and impetuous animation, a lively warmth and rapid ebullition of animal spirits, marked outwardly by a peculiar vivacity of air and manner, which commonly at first view distinguishes the natives of France. Constitutional doubtless also is that absence of timidity and of bashfulness, which appears to form the chief natural discrimination between the French and their English neighbours; so total an absence, that some have wondered how a term expressive of this passion had found its way into the language of a people to whose minds the idea is an utter stranger. But whatever may be derived from constitution, still, government is the great modeller of mankind, and gives the complexion to national manners. From this and concomitant secondary causes, one of which is the long exploded chivalry, an abler pen in a more extensive treatise might deduce the various characteristic traits of this mighty nation, so contemned and admired, so hated and caressed, so reviled and imitated by its neighbours of Europe.

The sudden and surprizing dissolution of the enormous triple system of monarchical, noble, and ecclesiastical

ecclesiastical oppression, has introduced a change into the manners of the French, and in some degree metamorphosed the national character. When the fermentation of this great event shall have subsided, and the new character shall have become determinate and marked, a delineation thereof may be attempted. At present I can pretend only to speak, and that very briefly, concerning the state of manners as it was found under the late monarchy.

A prominent feature in the former character of the French was a wild and extravagant loyalty, which they regarded as a virtue. Loyalty, which among the Britons is a rational reverence for the supreme governor, was among the French a blind and idolatrous attachment to the person of the sovereign, to whom, however vicious, they were ready to ascribe every virtue, and whom they seemed to consider as above human laws, and even human nature. Dazzled by the splendor of regal magnificence, by the blaze of majesty conceived to environ their Great Monarch, as they affected to stile him, they lost all sight of the just claims of mankind, and gloried in their own abasement and in the slavery of their nation.*

The same irrational veneration was extended to all the branches of the royal blood, and even, but in a less degree, to the rest of the numerous nobility, or noblesse, whose multitude, instead of diminishing, by rendering the distinction less confined,

* Moore's View of Society and Manners in France, &c. vol. i. letter 6.

appeared to augment this inordinate respect. The nobles, though far below the sovereign, were considered as in some degree above the laws. France absurdly gloried in her burdensome swarm of idle noblesse, a name which could not be pronounced without some kind of respectful emphasis, and each province was vain in proportion to the number of privileged useless families which it could boast as its own. In French ideas, a man such as one ought to be, signified not a man of good sense or good principles, but merely a man of birth or fashion: so that a man might be such as he ought to be, and yet be destitute of every quality which adorns human nature. Birth impudently usurped every reward of merit. To be one of the people carried the idea of every thing mean and despicable, however meritorious might be the individual. The people, a term of majesty among the Greeks and Romans, was in France a term of contempt. In the eyes of the French, without king and nobility the nation was nothing: all consideration and regard were engrossed by the two former.*

Where the monarch was a living idol of admiration, and together with the noblesse absorbed, or exclusively attracted, every species of regard, the manners of a court were considered as perfect models of human conduct, and as alone worthy of adoption or imitation. Unfortunately these manners are never pure. "In the courts of princes, in the drawing-rooms of the great, where success and preferment depend not upon the esteem of intelli-

* Moore, vol. i. letter 5, 6, 7.

gent and well-informed equals, but upon the fanciful and foolish favor of ignorant, presumptuous, and proud superiors, flattery and falsehood too often prevail over merit and abilities. In such societies the abilities to please are more regarded than the abilities to serve. The external graces, the frivolous accomplishments of that impertinent and foolish thing called a man of fashion, are commonly more admired than the solid and masculine virtues of a warrior, a statesman, a philosopher, or legislator. All the great and awful virtues, all the virtues which can fit either for the council, the senate, or the field, are by the insolent and insignificant flatterers, who commonly figure the most in such corrupted societies, held in the utmost contempt and derision."*

The cultivation of a graceful exterior, of a winning deportment, and of a pliant accommodating temper, in preference, or to the exclusion of more solid acquisitions, was recommended not only by the fascinating example of an idolized court, but also by the expediency or necessity of address, insinuation, and suppleness, under a system of administration where substantial merit was of no avail; where, even in courts of law, not the justice of a cause, but interest and intrigue, could procure success; and where, from the spies of government every where dispersed, a free conversation on subjects of importance, especially of a political nature, was dangerous. At the same time gaiety and mirth were not restrained by the spirit of the eccle-

* Smith's Moral Sentiments. Lond. 1790. vol. i. p. 151, 152.
fissical

fiastical system, which though sufficiently intolerant with respect to a uniformity in the ceremonies of religion, was otherwise very liberal. No diabolical court of inquisition diffused its baleful influence, introducing a kind of hell into the temporal world: no gloomy fanaticism depressed the cheerful sprightliness of temper: perhaps indeed religion was too indulgent to vice, and by nominal penances and absolutions the conscience might be lulled asleep under a guilt whose poison might otherwise damp the spirits and sour enjoyment.

I shall not pretend to determine how far these causes may have operated toward that gay, smart, free, unembarrassed, and airy mien; that polished courtesy and smoothness of demeanor; that even and unruffled goodness of humour or temper; that thorough disposition to please, and to make all in their company feel themselves happy; in short that captivating assemblage of frivolous, but pleasing, accomplishments, for which the French have long been famous, which rendered frivolity amiable, but which, by polishing away every originality of individual character, tended to reduce all to one common stamp without distinction. Urbanity and softness of manners, confined in other countries to certain ranks of men, pervaded in France in various gradations every rank and profession from the prince to the beggar. Language, which every where is tinctured by the national manners, abounded among the French in complimentary and soothing phrases destitute of meaning. A system of duplicity, adopted throughout every civil and political

political department of administration, had given a sinister sort of sagacity or finesse to the character, and a polish of manners which injures the substance by banishing sincerity. Hence vigor of thought and force of expression were hardly known in French conversation, a conversation calculated to give neither instruction nor offence, and in which all characters of great, moderate, and no abilities, appeared on the same lifeless level. "Good temper and habitual ease are the first ingredients in private society; but wit, knowledge, or originality, must break their even surface into some inequality of feeling, or conversation is like a journey on an endless flat."^a

In the numerous nobility, whose example must have had considerable influence on the general mass of the nation, the superficial gaiety, frivolous levity and effeminate softness of manners, were tempered by principles of a more liberal and hardy kind. The practice of chivalry had long been obsolete, but its generous and martial spirit was not extinct. The nobles were highly actuated by a passion for military fame and a scrupulous delicate sense of honor. From such opposite principles they displayed in their composition a heterogeneous mixture of discordant qualities; serious in trifles, gay in enterprize; servile, vain; insincere, honorable; profligate in heart, in conduct decent; to foreigners and inferiors outwardly polite, inwardly contemptuous; splendid, not munificent; in manners weak, strong in principle; effeminate,

^a Younge, vol. i. p. 55.

valiant;

valiant ; women in the toilet, heroes in the field ; contemptible in private life, in public formidable.

The noblest effect produced all or in part by that generous and gallant spirit, which in the French nobility seemed almost to compensate for all their defects, was the exalted situation of the female sex. In no other country were the two sexes brought so near to that state of equality which reason demands, and without which no perfect civilization can have place. That most illiberal propensity, which dishonors the Britons, to preclude females from knowlege, from conversation on any other than futile subjects, and from convivial mirth, was unknown among the French : without the participation of the fair no discourses could please, no party of pleasure could be conceived to deserve that name. Not only in matters of taste and elegance the ladies decided without appeal, but even in very important concerns no small deference was paid to their judgments. Not only with ostentive, as in other countries, but with substantial respect, were females treated, and consequently great numbers rendered themselves truly respectable by a cultivation of literature, an enlargement of the understanding, and a captivating display of mental accomplishments. Polite learning engaged their attention in greater or less degree, and many even of the most youthful and airy had found the happy secret of combining pleasure with improvement.* If the men were on one hand softened into a kind of amiable effeminacy, the women were on the

* Andrews' Remarks on the French and English.

other become amiably masculine. France was the country of heroines, and if her history is disgraced with sanguinary feuds and massacres, it is peculiarly ennobled with examples of female magnanimity.* In short the ladies of France had gained the pre-eminence among their sex, and it has been well observed that "the natural ease and boldness of their manner and deportment, the numberless graces of their address and conversation, their familiarity and facility of access, their restless vivacity, their extensive knowledge, the credit and weight of their opinions, are all striking to a stranger,"† and mark the nearest approach hitherto made in the world in the most material consideration to a perfect state of society.

The ladies of France, more especially the married, have been said to have less reserve with respect to chastity, than those of Britain and some others. It is much to be wished that both sexes were every where observant of this virtue. To condemn the infractions of it in one sex and excuse them in the other is iniquitous,‡ notwithstanding general cus-

* Among the heroines recorded in French history, were the countess of Montfort and the lady of Charles de Blois, who commanded opposite armies with consummate generalship and heroic valour; and the widow of Oliver de Clisson, who commanded a fleet and made fierce war against Philip de Valois. What an instance of intrepid and steady courage was exhibited in our own time by Charlotte Cordet, who stabbed Marat? In this instance of intrepidity, I am not to be understood to judge of the morality of the deed.

† Jardines Letters, vol i. p. 174. Dub. 1789.

‡ See vol. iii. of this work, p. 187.

tom,

tom, for no custom, however universal, can ever sanction iniquity excepting to the eyes of the vulgar; and vulgar is the head, though it were adorned with a diadem, which judges without reflection and reason. If indeed French ladies have preserved a less guarded integrity in this respect than any of their neighbours, the great source of corruption was the court. To the idol of court favor not even the chastity of a wife or daughter was deemed too great a sacrifice, where merit was condemned, and the laws were warped into means of selfish gratification to the powerful. To the easy familiarity and social intercourse of the sexes no such effect, but rather one of a contrary nature, can with justice be ascribed. From it indeed might doubtless be deduced a kind of amorous inconstancy or fickleness in love prevalent with the French, among whom a desultory change of objects of affection has been observed to take place; for though the gentlemen of France are most sincerely devoted to the frequentation of the fair sex in general, the charms of whose company constitute their supreme pleasure, yet they are less apt than others to form permanent attachments with particular women. But if any inconveniences can be said to have arisen from this emancipation of the female sex, they are immensely overbalanced by consequences of an opposite kind. For instance, the French have had the generous merit of banishing in a great measure from among themselves, and of diminishing by their example among their neighbours, that mean and contemptible, but horribly destructive passion of jealousy, which embittered

tered the lives of multitudes, and reduced many thousands of the *finest*, often the most innocent, females to a most deplorable state of misery. The discountenance of this odious monster has much improved the matrimonial state in France, where the most agreeable instances of connubial happiness are found.*

A remarkable and very honorable feature in the character of the French nobility, and one attended with no unimportant influence on general manners, was their familiarity with men of letters. These were admitted by the great on the most liberal footing not only to their tables, but to habits of intimacy; and, as from the unrestrained sociality of the sexes, so also from that of the nobles and men of literature, mutual advantages arose. The latter acquired a grace and suavity of manner, "equally purified from the awkward timidity contracted in retirement, and the disgusting arrogance inspired by university honors or church dignities."† The former imbibed more just ideas, and learned to temper their lofty spirit with humanity and liberal sentiments. Hence they behaved to their inferiors with a degree of courtesy little known in other countries; neither displaying that pride of ancestry which has rendered some of their neighbours a subject of ridicule, nor that arrogance and furliness of wealth, which is one of the disgraceful parts of the English character.

Humanity to servants has been observed as an

* Andrews.

† Moore's France, vol. i. let. 4.

instance

instance of the good temper of the French, whom some have reported as the kindest and most easy to be pleased of all masters. The external courtesy, politeness, and softness of demeanor of the nobles to inferiors, not only had a considerable influence on the behavior of the lower classes by being in some degree communicated to their air and manner, but served also in some small measure to alleviate the severity of their condition, and to smooth the rugged path of indigent labor to the toiling and ill-fed peasantry and others of their order of life. But the oppression of this class was too great for nature not to feel, and from this, from the want of sound moral instruction by precept or example, and from the horrible cruelties of executions to which their eyes and minds were habituated, they were, notwithstanding a smooth outside, ferocious in heart, and ready, when opportunities should occur, to plunge into sanguinary excesses.

The French have been reputed insincere by some writers, particularly British. Doubtless from the general style of conversation and address, plainness and sincerity were excluded: but, notwithstanding their obsequious and complimentary manner, they seldom had any sort of intention to deceive, and none were more truly polite to foreigners, even those who entertained against them illiberal sentiments and a hostile mind, particularly the English. That under a monarchy, with a magnificent court and a feudal spirit, occupations beneficial to society, and consequently in their nature honorable,

as those of merchandize, should be held in contempt cannot be surprizing; yet, notwithstanding this pernicious prejudice, the merchants maintained a respectable character, and were accounted men of probity; but the shop-keepers and other low traders had a contrary reputation. The nation in general had a happy pliancy of disposition, by which they adapted themselves with extraordinary facility and chearfulness to their several circumstances of life: hence very few instances occurred, comparatively with those of Britain, of moderate fortunes ruined by too high a style of living. A late traveller* has observed, that in point of cleanliness the French have divided the merit with the English, the former being cleaner in their persons, the latter in their houses. In table linen, however, the French were both cleaner and more æconomical, making use of a coarse kind that they might more easily afford an incessant change. The luxury of the inferior classes consisted almost wholly in the costliness of their apparel and other personal appurtenances, by which they endeavored to diminish the distinction between them and their superiors.

The custom of eating no regular breakfast and dining at noon, which was the time of dinner throughout France, excepting at some houses of considerable fashion in Paris, rendered the greater part of the day a blank with respect to any serious pursuit, for it was requisite there, as in Britain, to dress on that occasion; but as the ladies retired not

* Younge, vol. i. p. 582.

from company, and drinking ceased at the end of dinner, sobriety was preserved in all the joy of their feasts. Notwithstanding the respect paid to the fair sex in general, among the lower classes they were employed in laborious works, as in holding the plough, filling the dung-cart, and acting as hostlers at inns; while on the other hand in many parts hardly any other domestic servants than males were to be found in any office from the kitchen to the bed-chamber. Concerning provincial customs, or peculiarities among the peasantry of the different provinces, I shall only make this one remark, that the peasants of Auvergne and Limousin seek at a distance from home the slow and painful means of subsistence pursued by the Gallicians of Spain.*

Revolu-
tion.

Such local customs and a tincture of former manners may long survive the old system of French government, notwithstanding all the changes effected by the revolution. This mighty event was put in motion, or received its impulse, immediately from the embarrassment of the royal finances, but preparatory causes had been operating toward it; an oppression of the peasantry, whose condition could not possibly be rendered worse by any revolution, and a consciousness of the defects of their government diffused among the French by the writings of ingenious men, and by their intercourse with the republicans of North-America, from whom even the mercenary troops, (very strange indeed!) imbibed ideas of political freedom. Such is the natural progress of affairs: the enfranchisement

* See of this work, vol. i. p. 266.

of a people must have its sources in the illumination of the public mind : the best opportunity is offered by the perplexed state of the public revenue.

The interest of an immense national debt accumulated by the folly of successive monarchs, the support of great establishments, civil, naval, and military, and the prodigal expences of a profligate court, exceeded the royal revenue, prodigious as it was, insomuch that a new loan was every year made to supply the deficiency. Such at length was the situation of affairs, that to impose new taxes appeared impossible, to continue the mode of borrowing approached swiftly to ruin, and to have recourse to oeconomic reforms alone seemed altogether inadequate to the remedy of the evil. In this difficult and critical state of government, Monsieur de Calonne, who had been appointed comptroller-general of the finances of France in the year 1783, formed in 1786 a scheme of augmenting the revenue by a new modification of the taxes, which he proposed to render more productive and less oppressive, particularly the land-tax, which he wished to equalize, or extend equally to all ranks and denominations, the clergy and nobility as well as the commons. His plan was great, philanthropic, and sublime, demonstrating the exalted and comprehensive intellect of its author ; but, as he could not expect the concurrence of the parliaments, who were as apt to obstruct the best, as the worst measures of administration, he communicated to the royal ear the plan of assembling the *Notables*. By these were understood an assembly, in some degree representative of the nation,

Notables.

tion, or serving as a substitute for the States-General, consisting of members convoked from all parts of the kingdom, but selected chiefly from the higher orders, and nominated by the king himself. Precedents for the convocation of this occasional assembly were found in the reign of the great Henry the fourth, and in that of Lewis the thirteenth.

1787.

The summonses for the meeting of the Notables were addressed to seven princes of the blood, nine dukes and peers of France, eight field-m Marshals, twenty-two nobles, eight counsellors of state, four masters of requests, eleven prelates, thirty-seven lawyers, twelve deputies of the Pays d'états, the lieutenant civil, and twenty-five magistrates of towns. The assembly was opened on the twenty-second of February 1787. The members were distributed by the king into seven bureaux, chambers, or divisions, over each of which presided a prince of the blood. They were directed to examine the memorials of the minister separately at first in the several chambers, and afterwards to compare the different resolutions in a general meeting, or grand committee, under the presidency of Monsieur, the royal brother next in age to the sovereign. The design of the minister in convening the Notables was to obtain their approbation of his plan, and to overawe the opposition of the parliaments by the sanction of their authority: and probably, if their approbation had been unanimous and unqualified the monarchy would have gained a great accession of strength, and perhaps even stability, at least for

a time

a time. But the Notables were men as yet unaccustomed to public discussions, and prejudiced in favor of their several privileges, which they regarded more than the public prosperity. They hated the minister who had attacked these privileges, and objected with acrimony to several parts of his plan. Their assembly was at length dissolved on the twenty-fifth of May the same year, leaving the government in a greater state of embarrassment and perplexity than before, as they had expressly withheld their sanction from the measures necessary to supply the failure of the revenue, and thereby countenanced the refractory spirit of the parliaments, which was then rising to its highest pitch.

Calonne had been disgraced and even banished by the influence of the Notables and other prejudiced or interested persons. The archbishop of Tolouse, who with far inferior understanding, and perhaps less honesty, occupied his place as president of the council of finances, encountered the now truly formidable opposition of the parliaments. The registry of edicts for a newly modified land-tax and stamp-tax, after being refused by the parliament of Paris, was made in a bed of justice. The parliament declared this registry null and illegal. By letters patent and lettres de cachet the members were exiled, and their sittings translated a hundred miles from Paris, to Troyes in Champagne, where they resumed their deliberations, and, to interest the nation more warmly in their favor, solicited the monarch to convene the States.

Parliaments
opposition,

General,

General, an idea which had been hinted in the meeting of the Notables, and which this parliament had before, since the dissolution of the Notables, more fully expressed. Its cause was vehemently espoused by the other parliaments of the kingdom, and a flame of disaffection spread with encreasing force throughout the nation. To levy the new taxes in the face of such opposition and discontent was deemed highly dangerous; government yielded to the formidable resistance; the obnoxious edicts were by royal authority revoked, and the parliament recalled from exile.

1788.

Recourse was now necessarily had to a loan, and an edict for its sanction was registered in a bed of justice disguised under a new form and name. For their opposition to this measure, the duke of Orleans, a prince of the blood, and two members of the parliament of Paris, were sent into exile, the former to one of his rural mansions, the two latter to prisons in distant parts of the kingdom. The Parliament of Paris remonstrated with determinate boldness against the exile of their members and against lettres de cachet, which they declared illegal and iniquitous. The opposition was strenuously seconded by other parliaments, insomuch that the legislation of the kingdom was at a stand, and the deficiency of the revenue unsupplied. Driven to extremity, the court adopted a bold and apparently decisive plan, to deprive all the parliaments of the kingdom for ever, at one stroke, of the privilege of registering the royal edicts, and to vest it in a court erected for that purpose, named the

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cour pleniére, empowered to act in the name and on the authority of all the provinces of France. The institution of a large number of new courts of justice was comprehended in this plan, by which also the parliaments were prorogued, or forbidden to sit, for an indefinite space of time, or during the king's pleasure; and this vigorous project was put in execution, so far as to render it a law, throughout the kingdom on the eighth of May 1788; but the resistance of the magistrates and the temper of the nation rendered it abortive.

The parliaments in defiance of the royal authority assembled in such places as they deemed convenient, and voted resolutions against the measures of ministry: they were exiled for their disobedience by *lettres de cachet*. The nobility of Bretagne sent a part of their body with a memorial to their sovereign: their deputies for their presumption were imprisoned in the Bastille. A spirit of mutiny discovered itself by alarming symptoms throughout the nation, particularly in Bretagne, Bearn, and Dauphiné, where large bodies of soldiery checked the tumults, but encreased the discontent. The fires, which, though smothered, had been incessantly gathering strength, were ready to burst forth in tremendous combustion. The immediate ruin of the finances was inevitable in the then existing state of confusion and anarchy. Yielding to necessity, the court declared itself in favor of a convocation of the States-General, and soon after published a resolution of council which amounted to an avowal of bankruptcy. The former declaration

tion came too late to conciliate the affection of the nation; the latter caused such an alarm, that, to restore public credit, Monsieur Necker, under whose administration the finances had been managed with great apparent prosperity in the American war, and who thence enjoyed the public confidence in the highest degree, was immediately appointed to the direction of the finances, in place of the archbishop of Toulouse, who was obliged to resign.

Before the resignation of the archbishop, a circular letter of the king, announcing the intended convocation of the states, invited the council or advice of his subjects, particularly the learned, with respect to the forms of election and other circumstances. This was considered as a complete liberty of public disquisition, and the press immediately teemed with treatises on political subjects, which were discussed with a freedom never before known in any country. The great influence of this uncontrolled reasoning was manifested in the subsequent conduct of the assembly of the States-General, which amid a tumult of joy, dubious hope, and anxiety, met at Versailles on the fifth of May 1789, after an interval of a hundred and seventy-five years, since the year 1614, the last time when this great national body had been convened. In the election of members from the three orders of the nobility, clergy, and commons, the proportion planned by the province of Dauphiné was adopted; the deputies of the third estate, or commons, being made equal in number to those of the nobility and clergy taken together; but whether the deputies

1789.

National
Assembly.

ties of the three orders were to form indiscriminately one assembly, or three separate chambers, each of which should have a negative on the resolutions of the other two, was left undecided. As the former mode alone could give preponderance to the commons, that body determined to admit no other; while the nobles and superior clergy, foreseeing in such preponderance the destruction of their privileges, resolved to insist pertinaciously on the latter.

The commons, conscious of favor and support from the great mass of the nation, solicited by repeated messages the coalition of the other orders. The nobles were inflexible, but numbers of the inferior clergy, deserting their order, acceded to the commons, and at length a majority of the ecclesiastical order declared for a union with that body. The court was alarmed, and concerted vigorous measures to prevent the coalition with the commons, who had already declared themselves the *National Assembly*. On the twentieth of June, the day on which the accession of the clergy was to take place, the hall of the assembly was occupied by a body of troops, under pretence of preparing the place for a royal session, and the deputies rudely denied admittance. Full of indignation they retired to a tennis-court, and took a solemn oath never to separate until a constitution should be completed. They afterwards assembled in a church, and were there joined by the majority of the clerical chamber, together with two nobles of Dauphiné. On the twenty-third, with all the pomp of regal magnificence,

magnificence, the royal session was held; the deputies of the commons were contemptuously restrained from entering for near an hour, exposed to the rain, while the privileged orders were seated; and the king in a speech from the throne annulled their resolutions, commanded the immediate separation of the members, and their assembling the following day in three separate chambers. The command of the monarch was instantly obeyed by the nobles and the minority of the clergy; but the commons and their associates remained seated; the fiery Mirabeau, whose pre-eminent abilities drew the chief attention, declared that nothing but the force of the bayonet should expel them; his speech was applauded; the assembly voted their adherence to their former resolutions, and decreed that the persons of the deputies should be inviolable.

After this ill-advised step of the court, which demonstrated the pride and weakness of those who contrived or conducted it, the assembly continued its deliberations, and was joined by forty-nine of the nobles with the duke of Orleans at their head. So early as the twenty-seventh of the same month the king, in contradiction to his former command, enjoined by an earnest letter the chambers of clergy and nobility to coalesce with the commons. The former obeyed without hesitation; the latter after a warm debate; and loud shouts of applause, with other demonstrations of joy, proclaimed the popular approbation of this apparently happy event. But the court, while it seemed to comply with the wishes of the nation, meditated a decisive blow.

Great

Great bodies of foreign troops in the pay of France were drawn from all quarters, and stationed around Paris, as if they meant to besiege it. The pretence for the collection of this armed force was founded on some riots among the Parisians, which were said to have been originally caused by emissaries of the court employed for that purpose, and may also very probably have partly arisen from the levity of a people just emerging from despotism, and consequently unapt to make a right use of political freedom, with which they had been unacquainted.

A famine augmented by the presence and consumption of numerous forces heightened the dis-^{Parisian} traction of the Parisians, who were in violent perturbation from an apprehension of an intended annihilation of the National Assembly, and of military outrage to themselves, on whom that assembly depended principally for support. The consternation was consummated by the news of Neckar's banishment, and the introduction of a new unpopular ministry. A German regiment attacked and dispersed a body of the populace who were carrying the image of Neckar in procession. The German troops advanced into the city in formidable force with the prince of Lambesque at their head, who wantonly cut with his sabre an inoffensive old man whom he met. A cry of—*to arms* resounded from all sides. The troops of royal guards, who were natives of France, deserted their officers, and mingled with the citizens. Thus reinforced, the populace made a furious attack on the Germans, who were overpowered and obliged to retreat. The scene of alarm

alarm and commotion which Paris exhibited on the sleepless night of this affray, the twelfth of July, and the two days following, surpasses all conception; yet an astonishing regularity reigned amid this terrible confusion. A municipal government was instantaneously formed, and the citizens embodied into a militia of above a hundred thousand men. To furnish themselves with arms, they searched the armourers shops and public repositories, particularly the Hotel des Invalides, where they procured above thirty thousand muskets and twenty cannons. Of a party who applied to the governor of the Bastille some were admitted under an appearance of amity and then massacred. Exasperated to a pitch of frenzy, the populace, who had remained without, attacked, and without other leaders than the revolted soldiers of the royal guards, and their own headlong impetuosity of rage, stormed and took this formidable fortress, braving with astonishing intrepidity an incessant discharge of great and small arms for more than an hour. These terrible and decisive operations filled the court with dismay. The marquis de la Fayette, the champion of American liberty, was elected commander of the Parisian militia. The new ministry, resigning their places, fled the kingdom with others of the court-party. Neckar was recalled, the foreign troops retired from the vicinity of Paris, and a doubtful or intermitting tranquillity was for a time restored to the capital.

Insurrec-
tions.

The commotions of Paris, the central point of the revolution, were communicated through the provinces.

provinces. The troops led by their commanders to quell insurrections refused to fire on their countrymen. The peasants in some parts burned or demolished the castles of the nobles, and committed other excesses; but a municipal militia, embodied in the several towns, preserved in a considerable degree the public order. That cruelties were committed we ought less to wonder than that more were not, if we consider, among other circumstances, the debasement and insensibility of heart produced by their former government, the personal injuries which individuals had sustained from men in power, and the arts employed by wicked men of either party to excite the unthinking rabble to acts of violence. On the fifth of October, a famine again afflicting the capital, and a rumour, to which some acts of the court had given too much countenance, being diffused, that the king was privately to withdraw to Metz, to put himself at the head of an army for the reinstatement of his former power, a mob of many thousands, in great part women, marched in several bodies to Versailles. A villainous party of these, suspected of having been bribed for that purpose by the duke of Orleans, attempted to assassinate the king and queen, but were prevented from the perpetration of their diabolical scheme by the activity of a detachment of the national guards, or new-modeled Parisian militia, under the command of La Fayette. The king, however, to appease the suspicions of his subjects, transferred his residence to the capital, whither he was followed
by

by the National Assembly, who fixed thenceforth their sessions in that city.

The frightful tumult, which caused the king's removal to Paris, caused also his unqualified acceptance of the preliminaries of a new constitution framed by the National Assembly. This body proceeded in the formation of a new system, but, notwithstanding a multitude of patriotic donations, no efficacious means were adopted to supply the deficiency of the finances, while the embarrassment was increased by a scarcity of money, occasioned by the emigration of great numbers of the nobility. They at length resolved to seize the possessions of the church, which they voted to be national property, charging themselves with the task of providing a decent and more equal, or more justly proportioned maintenance for the clergy. This vote was followed in February 1790 by a decree, authorizing the sale of the church-lands in separate portions and at different times as the legislature should direct; and assignats were issued into circulation, which were notes of credit to be accepted in payment on the sale of these and the domains of the crown, which were also declared national property, in lieu of which near fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling annually were settled on the royal family. In June a decree was made abolishing all titles, armorial bearings, and other marks of distinction between different classes, by which act the nobles, who had been before deprived of all their substantial privileges, were now completely confounded with the mass of the people. On the
fourteenth

1790.

fourteenth of July a civic oath, by which every person was bound to maintain the new order of things, was administered throughout the kingdom, and particularly at Paris in the Champ de Mars, a plain eight hundred yards in diameter, round which was an amphitheatre of earth and stone containing four hundred thousand spectators. This extraordinary solemnity, termed the great or general Confederation, gave additional weight and legality to the National Assembly in the eyes of the people, and fixed its power more firmly.

Though the great Confederation was solemnized without tumult, it was both preceded and followed by commotions and acts of violence in several places. The nobles and clergy by an obstinate adherence to their exorbitant privileges had embarrassed the old government, and had thereby contributed to open the sluices of that popular inundation which at once swept away every particle of these privileges, without leaving even a vestige behind. Enraged against a system, which they considered as degrading and ruinous to themselves, great numbers of them set at work every engine in their power to disturb the new government. Attempts were made to diffuse disaffection in the army, false reports were propagated, and tumults excited by the influence of money. At Toulouse, Montauban, and Nismes, mobs were raised, not without partial success at the two latter places, to massacre the protestants, who in the new system were placed on a political level with the catholics. Beside many less remarkable movements, a dreadful slaughter

slaughter was made among the troops at Nancy ; and near Vannes in Bretagne a priest, after having celebrated mass, desired the congregation to kiss the cross, and, having given them absolution, addressed them in these words, “ go now and plunge your daggers into the hearts of those impious persons who have degraded your holy religion : You are saved ! ” The infatuated multitude were prevented from committing the projected massacre by the opposition of an Irish regiment and other troops.

1791.

King's
flight.

The emigrations of the nobles, the disappearance of the circulating money, and the activity of the disaffected priests and other enemies of the new system, encreased at the eve of the king's flight, who in the end of June 1791, fled with all the royal family toward the Austrian Netherlands, where he was to be joined by an army raised by the emigrants, and the powerful forces of Austria, to act against the National Assembly ; but was intercepted when he had almost effected his escape, and was brought back to the capital. After this unfortunate step, which destroyed all confidence between the nation and the king, who had by most solemn protestations declared his approbation of the new arrangements, his majesty gave his assent confirmed by a new oath to the articles of the new constitution on the thirteenth of September ; and on the thirtieth this National Assembly, called the Constituent Assembly, because by its labors the new constitution was framed, dissolved itself to make room, according to its own decrees, for a newly constituted assembly to succeed.

On

On the next day, the first of October, the new ^{New} National Assembly commenced its sitting. For the ^{Assembly.} election of members to compose this body, and for other purposes, the whole kingdom had been divided into eighty-two, or including Corsica, eighty-three departments or divisions, each containing about three hundred and twenty-four square leagues of France, and subdivided into districts not less than three, nor more than nine in each district. The districts were again subdivided into cantons, each containing four square leagues. In the assemblies of the cantons, called primary assemblies, men termed electors were chosen, who afterwards composed what were termed electoral assemblies, in which were elected immediately in each department the members of the National Assembly. The whole number of representatives was seven hundred and forty-five. Of these two hundred and forty-seven were attached to the territory, or proportioned to the extent of surface, each department nominating three, excepting that of Paris which returned only one. Two hundred and forty-nine were attributed to population, each department nominating in proportion to its number of inhabitants. Two hundred and forty-nine were ascribed to contribution, each department nominating in proportion to the amount of its taxes to the state. The districts, or intermediate divisions between the departments and cantons, were concerned in the arrangements for the administration of justice, not in the election of representatives.

By the constitution no members of the Consti-
VOL. IV. A a tuent

tuent Assembly could be reckoned as members of this new national body or legislative assembly, which, being composed of new men, proved much inferior to the former in wisdom, liberality of sentiment, moderation, and dignity. A considerable part of them were in principle republicans, preferring pure democracy to every other species of government. A republican party seems to have subsisted in France from the very beginning of the revolution, small at first, but continually gaining accessions of strength from the ill-advised projects of the court, and the obstinate pride of the privileged orders. The Jacobin club, so called from their place of meeting, a vacant convent of the Jacobin monks, diffused through the nation the flame of democracy and of disaffection to the sovereign. This unfortunate monarch had by attempts made contrary to his professions, destroyed all confidence between him and his people, particularly by his flight. Their disaffection was augmented by his refusal to sanction the decrees of the assembly against the refractory clergy, who by their preaching, and against the emigrants, who by money and intrigues, fomented riots and disturbed the new system. Notwithstanding all this, a powerful majority of the French, attached to the plan of limited monarchy formed by the constituent assembly, and anxious for the preservation of order and tranquillity, adhered to the monarch, and would have maintained him on the throne, but the operations of foreign potentates completed his ruin and the triumph of the republicans.

Toward

Toward the end of summer in 1791 a private league, termed the convention of Pilnitz from a town in Saxony the place of meeting, was formed between Leopold emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia. In this secret confederacy, in which other potentates concurred, a plan was laid, as has been known by private intelligence and subsequent events, for a most formidable invasion of France, beside other acts of power, particularly the seizure of Poland. A man, who can even for a moment believe that this league for the invasion of France could have been concerted from motives of friendship to the French monarch, must be perfectly ignorant of history. Conquest was the grand object: another was said to be the destruction of all republicanism, or of all limitation of regal power throughout Europe. To the remonstrances from France against the hostile preparations of Austria and Prussia ambiguous answers were returned, which tended to render the unfortunate king of France more suspected by his people. The veil of ambiguity was at length removed. The cautious Leopold expired on the first of March 1792. His successor, Francis the first, gave unequivocal intimations of intended hostilities. On the twentieth of April war was decreed, perhaps prematurely, against this monarch; and three bodies of French troops invaded the Austrian Netherlands. This expedition was rendered abortive by the shameful behaviour of some of the troops, who, as yet under too lax a discipline, and very probably having among them persons purposely bribed to create

Foreign
Intrigues.

1792.

War.

A a 2 confusion,

confusion, fled at the first attack, and inhumanly murdered the brave general Dillon their commander.

The levies of troops by the French emigrants in the name of the king of France to assist the invading armies of the Prussian and Austrian monarchs, and the declarations of these princes that the object of the invasion was to reinstate in his full rights the sovereign, who, they declared, had not been sincere in his acceptance of the constitution, aided most efficaciously the efforts of the Jacobins, who labored to persuade the nation that the king was actually in concert with the invaders. To this purpose was a manifesto of the duke of Brunswick, who at the head of above fifty thousand Prussians, aided by a numerous army of emigrants and another of Austrians, was in motion with design to penetrate to Paris. This manifesto, one of the most extraordinary recorded in history, left no middle line of conduct to the French. The constitutionalists, those who were desirous to preserve a limited monarchy, the wisest, best, and most numerous party in France, had no other alternative than to throw themselves into the arms of the republican faction, or accede to foreign armies for the destruction of liberty. In this perturbed state of affairs the balance quickly preponderated in favor of the republicans. In compliance with repeated petitions presented by the citizens of Paris and others to the legislative assembly, demanding the deposition of the monarch, the important question was solemnly discussed on the tenth of August.

But

King's
Deposition.

But while the legislators were debating, the matter was put to the decision of the sword. The palace of the Thuilleries was stormed by a furious mob, composed principally of the lower class from the suburbs, and men who under the name of federates had come by invitation from different parts of France, particularly Marseilles and its environs. After a terrible combat, the Swiss guards and other defenders of the palace were overpowered and massacred: the king and royal family took refuge in the hall of the legislative assembly: the suspension of the regal authority was decreed; an executive council in its place appointed; and the king and royal family committed prisoners to a building called the Temple.

The generous and patriotic La Fayette, who adhered with inflexible integrity to the constitution of a limited monarchy, endeavoured to persuade the army under his command to march to the relief of the king and the suppression of the republicans; but finding his efforts vain and his army otherwise affected, he fled with some officers from the French territories. Contrary to the law of nations, these illustrious exiles were seized by the Austrians in a neutral territory, and have been five years confined as criminals in melancholy dungeons. As the only crime imputed or imputable to these men was their adherence to limited monarchy, the monarchs combined against France gave the fullest and clearest proof possible, if indeed any proof could be wanted, that nothing short of unlimited submission to despotic power would be admitted as in any degree

gree sufferable. How far this declarative act must have operated to augment the republican party in France, and to complete the destruction of the unhappy monarch, is sufficiently evident. The success however of these princes ill corresponded to the plan which they had formed. At first indeed the confusion of the French permitted the advance of the invading armies, who marked their way in the French territories with depredation and violence; but they were soon driven from these territories with ignominy and vast loss by some bodies of French troops, among whom were many boys and even women. France in her turn began to act offensively, invading with rapid success Germany, the Sardinian dominions, and the Austrian Netherlands.

While the foldiers of the new French commonwealth, and even the fair sex, displayed on the frontiers heroic valor in defence of their country, scenes the most disgraceful were acted in the capital, scenes in which in great measure were renewed the horrors of the Jacquerie, the massacres in the time of Henry the fifth of England, or those of Saint-Bartholomew. The democratic mob, composed of the lowest and most ferocious of the populace, after the storming of the Thuilleries on the fatal tenth of August, proceeded with savage ferocity to demolish the statues of the kings, even that of the great and amiable Henry the fourth, and to obliterate every vestige of art which bore any relation to monarchy or aristocracy. Many individual murders were probably committed. Some atrocities equal

equal to those of the Jacquerie are told; but a massacre which took place on the second and third of September has been authentically related. An alarm caused by the approach of the hostile armies, who were falsely rumored to have advanced within a short distance of Paris, caused a decree that all the citizens fit for military service should enroll themselves as a volunteer army ready to march against the enemy at a moment's warning. On the founding of the *tocsin* or alarm-bell for the assembling of the volunteers, a number of armed men, who are said by their apologists to have been actuated with a fear of the murder of their families by the aristocrats, or opposers of democracy, confined in the prisons, when the volunteer army should be absent, forced open these prisons successively, and under certain judicial forms, which they adopted on the occasion, massacred a thousand and eighty-five persons. Among these, we must own, were many felons, or criminals unconnected with party; but, alas! among them was also the beautiful and accomplished princess de Lamballe, the friend and confidante of the queen. Her head was fixed on a pike, and carried to the Temple in sight of that unfortunate personage, who fainted at the sad spectacle.*

Massacres.

Massacres

* Though the study of politics is actually no other than the study of history, yet from ignorance of the latter, the high politicians of Britain, even the prime minister, consider the atrocities committed by the populace in the late revolution of France as unprecedented. What a multitude of instances might they have

Massacres of the same kind, but of much inferior magnitude, were perpetrated in some other towns of France, particularly at Versailles. Among the massacred were many priests, who had refused to acknowledge the new constitution, and who by a decree of the assembly, since the suspension of the king, who had protected them by his *veto*, were under sentence of banishment. These appear to have been honest conscientious men, but their bigotry and superstition was prodigious.* Among the murdered were also some of the most virtuous and patriotic of the nobility, who, guiltless themselves, were lamentably involved in the ruin of their order, of which too many by former oppression, obstinate pride, and opposition to all reform, had excited odium against nobles in general.†

Together

have found in the histories of that country? I shall mention only one. The mangled corpse of the Marechal de l'Ancre, assassinated by order of Lewis the thirteenth in the year 1617, was raised out of the grave by the Parisian populace, who dragged it through the streets, cut it into small pieces, roasted it, and devoured it. Bernard, *Histoire de Louis xiii.* Journal de Balfompierre, &c.

* This is too clearly proved by their own publications. See the History of the French Clergy, during the revolution, by the Abbé Baruel, a work replete with the superstition and bigotry of the darkest ages of Christianity.

† The intelligent Arthur Younge, who has been employed to write against the French revolution, and who consequently, we may suppose, is not to be suspected of partiality in favor of the people of France, enumerates many oppressions, and lays the fault to the account of the nobles, at least to the system of the old government. Among other expressions equally strong he says,

Together with the suspension of monarchy on the tenth of August, the legislative assembly had decreed its own dissolution, and the convocation of a National Convention, or representative assembly, elected in the same manner as the legislative body, yet not confined to its rules, but vested with the whole collective authority of the nation, for the modeling of the constitution and all arrangements internal and external. This body assembled on the twentieth of September, and immediately decreed the total abolition of monarchy in France, the government of which was thenceforth to be considered as a republic. As the legislative assembly had interdicted all titles of nobility, so the Convention abolished even the harmless appellations of monsieur and madame, and substituted that of citizen; in

says; "the murder of a seigneur, or a chateau in flames, is recorded in every newspaper; the rank of the person who suffers attracts notice; but where do we find the register of that seigneur's oppressions of his peasantry, and his exactions of feudal services from those whose children were dying around him for want of bread! In these cases the sufferers are too ignoble to be known, and the mass too indiscriminate to be pitied. But should a philosopher feel and reason thus? Should he mistake the cause for the effect? and giving all his pity to the few, feel no compassion for the many, because they suffer, in his eyes, not individually, but by millions?" See his observations on the revolution at the end of his travels in France. Doubtless the cruelties of the common people, who committed the atrocities in France, are totally incapable of excuse; but so also was that system of government which rendered them desperate and ferocious. When they had been treated as beasts without human feelings, how could they be expected to be influenced by such feelings when roused into action?

this

King's
Death.

1793.

this and other instances carrying the rage of democracy to excess. To this corresponded the severity of its decrees against even the least culpable of the emigrants, and all who were considered as disaffected to the new republic; but the consummation of severity was displayed in the trial and death of the ill-fated monarch, who, whether guilty or innocent, was believed beyond a doubt to have been in league with foreign powers against the liberty of his subjects. In his trial we cannot easily recognize even the forms of justice, as the charge was not grounded on explicit laws, and as the Convention was at once his judge, his jury, and his accuser. Pronounced guilty by a small majority of the members, he was beheaded by the guillotine on the twenty-first of January 1793. He had displayed in his defence abilities which he had not been supposed to possess, and he encountered death with heroic fortitude. Thus fell this unfortunate and much to be lamented sovereign, the victim of the folly of his predecessors, who had loaded the nation with enormous debt; the victim of his own duplicity, which, whether from education, advice, or both, had rendered him an object of mistrust and suspicion; but chiefly the victim of the at least ill-judged machinations of foreign powers, which had excited among the French a ferment so furious, a commotion so frantic, as must be expected to involve the destruction of the sovereign.

War.

Probably the British court might by a judicious mode of interference have saved the life of this unfortunate prince; but the court was understood from

from the very commencement of the revolution to have been hostile to the emancipation of the French, and was consequently regarded with a jealous eye by that nation. The public prints under the influence of the British ministry had decried the revolution, and a member of the British parliament, an orator of the highest abilities, had been employed to write a rhapsodical pamphlet of no ordinary bulk against it.* To explain the motives of the British ministry here is no place. In this little sketch of the French revolution, an event of prodigious moment in future history, I confine myself to facts with a studied plainness, and avoid discus-

* As the writer is now dead, whose splendid genius, meretriciously exerted, has promoted in a high degree the growth of republicanism, partly through the indignation excited by his furious unqualified declamation against its principles, and partly by the spirit of inquiry and replication roused by his invectives, I have expunged what I had here written in a note concerning him. I shall only quote an observation on such conduct from Arthur Young, who is himself a writer against the French revolution. "The gross abuse which has been thrown on the French nation, and particularly on their assemblies, in certain pamphlets, and without interruption in several of our newspapers, ought to be deprecated by every man who feels for the future interests of his country. It is in some instances carried to so scandalous an excess, that we must necessarily give disgust to thousands of people, who may hereafter have an ample opportunity to vote and act under the influence of impressions unfavorable to this country, which unprovoked has loaded them with so much contumely: for a nation groaning under a debt of 240 millions (it is now above 400 millions) which deadens the very idea of future energy, this seems, to use the mildest language, to be at least very imprudent." Young's Tour in France, vol. ii. p. 551.

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sion. How much soever dissatisfied with the British court, the Convention wished extremely to cultivate peace and amity with it, for they respected the British nation as freemen and the friends of liberty. But the British cabinet was determined on war, and after the king's death adopted such hostile measures, that the Convention, after almost supplicating peace, and sending offers even to purchase it at a high price, finding hostilities inevitable, boldly proclaimed war in form, and ordered their general Dumourier to attempt the conquest of Holland. This able general appears to have been ill treated by the Convention, to have been otherwise disaffected to the existing government, and to have entered into secret negotiations with the hostile powers. Whatever were the causes, he failed in his attempt on Holland, retreated from the Austrian Netherlands which he had conquered, and finally concluded a treaty with the Austrian generals to march his army to Paris for the dissolution of the Convention, and the restoration of limited monarchy in the person of Lewis the seventeenth, son of the beheaded king. His army refusing to concur in his design, and even attempting his life, he was obliged to take refuge with the Austrians, who generously rewarded his limited royalism nearly in the same manner as they had that of La Fayette.

While the great army of Dumourier was dissolving and in part disbanded by the defection of their general, a most formidable insurrection of French royalists, excited by great numbers of returned emigrants

emigrants and foreign gold, burst like the explosion of a mine in the departments of La Loire and La Vendée, the provinces of Poitou and Bretagne. France now diffident of the fidelity of her generals, and distracted by factions, her bosom torn by a furious, and for some time alarmingly successful host of her own countrymen, was assailed from without by the immense veteran armies of Austria and Prussia, seconded by the troops of Britain, Holland, the German states, Sardinia, and Spain. The mighty navies of Britain blockaded her coasts, and were reinforced by those of Spain and Holland. The British court, supported by that of Russia, assumed a lofty dictatorial tone, requiring with menaces neutral states to enter into the confederacy for the extermination of the French republicans, declaring that no neutrality would be admitted with respect to rebels and atheists, and threatening to seize all ships of neutral nations carrying provisions to the French, on whom it was resolved to bring all the horrors of famine. When such was the state of affairs, shallow politicians pronounced with confidence the inevitable and speedy subjugation of France, while men of more depth of judgment, better acquainted with the history of the country, and more accustomed to reason from comprehensive views of historical facts, expected that, though France might be deeply gored by the inroads of the enemy, yet her immense internal strength, united and compressed by the common danger, and energized by a spirit of liberty,

Factions

liberty, would rebound with a tremendous shock, and finally blast the projects of the confederacy.

The convention was divided by two factions, even before the king's condemnation, distinguished by the appellations of the Gironde and the Mountain, the former taking its name from the department of the Gironde, the latter from the high seats which they occupied in the hall of the convention. The former, who adopted moderate measures, and endeavoured to save the king's life, would have had on their side the majority of the convention, if that body had not been overawed by the Jacobins and Parisian mobs who favored the latter. After the unhappy event of the king's execution, the two factions came by degrees to extremities, and the Mountain party, among whom Robespierre and Marat were most conspicuous for activity, violence, and a thirst of blood, gained the entire ascendancy on the thirty-first of May, insomuch that the leaders of the Gironde faction were imprisoned. Overpowered in the capital, the party of the Gironde endeavoured to gain the provinces to their interest, but with only partial success. Lyons declared in their favor, and its example was followed by Marseilles and Toulon, between whom a league, since called federalism, was formed for the dissolution of the convention. The department of Gironde interested itself warmly in the quarrel, and that of Calvados made an open insurrection. From Calvados a heroic but mistaken female, named Charlotte Cordet, devoted herself to death for what she considered the service of her country: She
 assassinated

assassinated Marat on the thirteenth of July, and suffered her execution with consummate fortitude. On the twenty-fourth of August the city of Toulon, with thirty-one ships of the line in the harbor, put itself into the hands of the British government under certain conditions.

On the sixteenth of August was proposed in the convention, by one of its members named Barrere, an extraordinary project, which was afterwards digested by a committee of nine persons termed the committee of Public Safety, that of inviting the people of France to rise in a mass, and of putting not only the valor of the nation, but also its industry and arts, in a state of requisition, for the expulsion of its enemies. Time was required to render effective this new and sublime scheme, and the treachery of the generals is supposed to have greatly retarded its operations, or at least in some cases to have favored the designs of the hostile confederacy. But however unwieldy and retarded in its early movements, this ponderous machine acted at length with terrible effect. The royalists of La Vendée, after a series of desperate conflicts, were overwhelmed; the federalists of Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon, and all other internal revolters, were reduced; and hosts of republicans precipitated with vengeful enthusiasm on the Prussian and Austrian armies, which had been delayed by sieges of strong fortresses on the frontiers, repelled the invaders with dreadful slaughter. The year terminated gloriously for the arms of the new republic, but its internal administration was disgraced
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by the cruelty of the Mountain faction. The chiefs of the Gironde party, several generals, and other eminent persons, died by the Guillotine; also the beautiful and unfortunate queen of France. This most illustrious female, who had sat with super-eminent splendor on the most exalted throne of Europe, was brought to trial with such circumstances of cruel insult and wanton indignity as cannot be heard of without horror, and guillotined on the sixteenth of October. As we must execrate the inhumanity of her judges and accusers, in what light are we to view the conduct of the confederated Austrian and Prussian monarchs, whose intrigues had caused her fall from the throne, and who made no effort to save her life, though to save it very easily is asserted to have been quite in their power?

1794.

This cruel act, the execution of the queen with such humiliating circumstances, seems to have been intended as a contemptuous defiance to her nephew the emperor, who had insulted and invaded the French nation under the pretence of protecting the royal family. The independence of France was now fully secured, and in the following year, while the armies of the new republic pursued their enemies on all sides beyond the French boundaries into their own territories, the reflecting part of the nation, who had hitherto submitted to the energetic tyranny of the Mountain faction, through the necessity of affairs, when the existence of France as a state was threatened, now, released from this necessity, resolved on its overthrow. The chiefs of
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this terrific faction were beheaded, the principal of whom was Robespierre, whose power was founded on his popularity with the lowest classes, particularly the populace of Paris. Men of property resumed their due places in the scale of society, and a system of moderation, instead of terror, was adopted. To this mode of governing the last remnant of the antirepublicans of La Vendee, which had hitherto been kept in existence by the system of terror, perhaps by the connivance of the Mountain faction, and had waged a kind of skulking and desultory warfare in the manner of lurking banditti, finally submitted, so that France had no longer within her confines an armed opponent of her new commonwealth.

Not however till toward the end of the succeeding year was the reduction completed of the antirepublicans, the deluded victims of foreign ambition. In the same year, 1795, the government of 1795. France assumed a new form, partaking less of the revolutionary system, and more of a regular and stable constitution. The primary and electoral assemblies, which have been already mentioned,* were convoked; each primary assembly nominating one elector for every two persons present, or having a right to be present, in the assembly; and the electoral assemblies, which must consist of men at least twenty-five years of age and possessed of a certain property, nominating, beside other functionaries, the members of the legislative body. This body must consist of two councils, that of

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tory.

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* See page 369.

five hundred and that of the ancients; the former consisting of five hundred persons, the latter of two hundred and fifty.—Laws must originate in the council of five hundred, but have not the force of laws until ratified by the council of ancients. Of the members of each council one third must every year vacate their seats, and their places be filled by a new election. The executive department was committed to a council of five persons, at least forty years of age, called the directory, nominated by the legislative body, and partially renewed every year by the resignation of an old, and the introduction of a new member.

Reflexi-
ons.

To pretend to give accurately a circumstantial statement of causes and effects, of the merits and demerits of those who began, and of those who through successive stages continued the revolution of France, would, notwithstanding a vast mass of materials already published, be as yet premature, and would be totally incongruous to the nature of this little sketch. The event is quite stupendous, the greatest hitherto offered to the pen of the historian. The sudden and almost unqualified confiscation of the revenues of the clergy was cruel and unjust, and not defensible on the plea of necessity. If the decree of the national assembly, respecting the revenues and other concerns of the church, had been so modified as to operate gradually without detriment to the then existing members of the priesthood, allowing to each for life the enjoyment of the whole income which he actually possessed, and annexing it to the national property

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at his death, the act might to some persons have even seemed laudable, as it assigned a better maintenance to the laboring part of the clerical order, of which, however, they have since been deprived, and promised a more just arrangement in the distribution of benefices, instead of a miserable system which had before prevailed, as in some neighbouring countries; where, without regard to merit, the livings of the church are conferred in a spirit of monopoly, or political corruption, or made the rewards of sycophant iniquity.

Whatever injuries in the early part of the revolution were sustained by the clergy and nobility from pre-existing prejudices entertained against them, the complete ruin of both orders was occasioned by foreign interposition. Instigated to resistance by his holiness the Pope, most of the clergy refused the oath of allegiance to the new constitution: ejected in consequence from their livings, into which new pastors were introduced, they endeavoured to arm the people against the new government: this government then must be overthrown, or banish the refractory priests: the latter took place; many thousands were driven into exile, and some lost their lives in the struggle. As the men of letters in France, and the gentry in general, disgusted with the gross superstition of their own church, which they confounded with the Christian system, were long before the revolution deists, or unbelievers of all revealed religion, admitting only the existence of God and the religious truths deducible by the light of reason, they could not be

expected to become instantly converts to Christianity amid the conflict of political debates, especially while the horrors of religious rancor were displayed in so many instances, particularly in the frantic insurrection of the bigoted and unfortunate peasants of La Vendee, which caused the death of several hundred-thousands of persons. Their disregard of revelation being explicit, and some of them even professing a disbelief of the immortality of the soul, not only they, but the whole body of republicans in France, were accused of atheism in the public prints under the influence of the neighbouring hostile governments. Since no man of any reflexion can possibly be an atheist, the absurdity of the charge is a full refutation to all persons of understanding, besides that it is refuted by public documents. The history of Europe records many unfounded accusations of the same kind against individuals and societies. The state of religion at present in France is that no legal preference is given to any one mode of worship, that the professors of each religion elect their own ministers, and are not obliged to contribute to the maintenance of the ministers of any other religion.

The numerous nobility of France, exasperated at the annihilation of all those privileges and distinctions by which they had considered themselves as exalted above the mass of the nation, were encouraged by the agents of neighbouring potentates to emigrate, under the assurance of being soon reconducted into the bosom of their country by irresistible armies of foreigners, by whom they should

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be reinstated in their former eminence. Deluded and unfortunate men! who considered not, alas! that states never send their armies to invade the territories of other states with disinterested views, and that, if the invading armies should be ultimately triumphant, the nobles of France must behold their country, of which they were so vainly proud, dismembered and divided among the neighbouring powers, their property the prey of aliens, and themselves the slaves of foreign potentates.* If they had quietly bowed beneath the blast, and endeavoured by coalescing with the people to weather the storm of the revolution, much indeed they might have suffered from its violence, but on its subsiding they must naturally have recovered by degrees a great share of influence, might have prevented many violent measures, and most probably might have preserved or restored the monarchy. But when most of the nobles were found to have privately withdrawn themselves from their country for the express purpose of returning with foreign armies to take vengeance on all opposers of arbitrary power, and to rivet beyond hope of redemption the yoke of their former slavery on the necks of the people, an ungovernable rage was excited against the whole order, and in too many instances

* That states never send their armies to invade the territories of other states with disinterested views, a truth confirmed by all history ancient and modern, ought to be seriously considered by those inhabitants of the British islands, who, from disapprobation of the conduct of the ministry, or of the present system of government, are not averse to a French invasion.

the innocent suffered with the guilty. And, when the very extinction of France, as a state, was menaced, invaded on all sides by the numerous and formidable armies of the most powerful confederacy ever formed since the commencement of time, aided and influenced with all their might by the emigrants, the immensity of the danger justified in the eyes of the people the most violent expedients for defence. The lands of the emigrants, and of all who were pronounced enemies of the state, were confiscated, and sold or mortgaged to raise money for the support of the French armies, and other burdens of the war. Thus an almost total revolution of landed property took place. Almost all the lands of France are held by the creditors of the state, against the former proprietors, either by purchase from government, or as pledges for money lent on the credit of the commonwealth, which renders the reinstatement of the old nobility utterly hopeless, in fact impossible.

Whatever violences or crimes were committed by the leaders of the democratic party in the French revolution, their exertions for the independence and improvement of their country, and the permanence of the new commonwealth, were vast and stupendous. When dangers were most menacing, the armies of the new commonwealth were augmented to above seven hundred thousand combatants, who crushed on all sides its foreign and domestic foes. The baleful art of war received new improvements. Among others, the telegraph was invented for the rapid conveyance of news from

from the armies, and the balloon was rendered subservient to military operations, scouts to reconnoitre the position of the enemy being elevated by this machine to the region of the clouds. Amid all the bustle and expenditures of so prodigious a warfare, great attention was paid to the improvement of the country, as if in a time of profound peace, and vast sums of money applied to that purpose. Canals were formed, roads and other works of public utility constructed, the arts encouraged, and a multitude of schools founded for the diffusion of literature. By the issuing of vast sums of paper money on the security of the confiscated lands, much the greater part of the lands of France, under the authority of a republic one and indivisible, the general mass of the people became deeply interested in the preservation of the new system, since from the interchange of this paper currency, which constitutes, as it were, the personal estate of the nation, hardly any property is to be found in France which in the hands of the present possessors has any other foundation than that authority. Not content with so great a change of property, and the establishment of other such measures as must render a return of the old system of government absolutely impossible, the democratic leaders changed every institution, how little soever connected with plans of government, which might seem to preserve any vestige of the former system. They even altered the division of time. The year was made to begin at the autumnal equinox, the twenty-second of September, and to consist of twelve months.

THE FRENCH ISLANDS.

months of thirty days each, beside an intercalation necessary to fill the astronomical deficiency. The months denominated from the general state of the weather, or productions in each, are named in their order Vendemiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire, Nivose, Pluviose, Ventose, Germinal, Floreal, Prairial, Messidor, Thermidor, and Fructidor. The months are divided into decads, or spaces of ten days each, and the days are named from the order in which they stand, as the first, second, third, and in the same manner to the tenth.

THE

FRENCH ISLANDS,

OR those which are adjacent to the coasts of France, neither large nor numerous, consist, beside a few others too small for notice, of the Hyeres in the Mediterranean; Oleron, Ré, Noirmoutier, Belle-île, and Grouais, in the Bay of Biscay; Isle des Saints and Ouessant in the main ocean; and the Norman islands in the British Channel.

The
Hyerès.

On the coast of Provence, near the territory of Hyeres, whence they have taken their name, lie the isles of Hyeres, called also the isles of Gold, perhaps from the oranges produced in them, forming with the adjacent coast a fine road for shipping. They are, beside a few smaller, three in number, Porcurolles, Portecros, and Levant. The first of these

these, near ten miles long and above two broad, nearest the continent and best inhabited, is said to have received its denomination from wild swine which frequent it by swimming from the continent on account of acorns growing in it. The second, of a triangular form, the highest of the three, and not much differing in size from the first, has two harbors or ports, from one of which it has taken its name. The third, named also Titan, may be about six miles long and half as broad.

Oleron, severed by a channel two miles broad Oleron. from the province of Aunis, extends about thirteen miles in length, five in breadth, has a fertile soil, and may contain about eleven thousand inhabitants, who were formerly famous for their expertness in maritime affairs. The principal town, called Chateau du Bourg, stands on the eastern coast, and is inhabited by about two thousand souls. On the northern point of the island is a light-house named la tour de Chassiron.

On the same coast, and nearly at the same distance from the main land, but somewhat less in size than Oleron, whence it is separated by a channel called Pertuis d'Antioche, lies the isle of Ré, Ré. so populous as to contain twenty thousand inhabitants, abounding in salt and wine, but almost destitute of corn, hay, and timber. Its chief town named Saint-Martin, stands on the eastern side, and on the western a high tower called la tour des Baleines serves as a light-house to mariners.

Noirmoutier, or the isle of the black monastery, Noirmoutier. parted from the main land of Poitou by a channel

hardly

hardly a mile broad, stretches near eight miles long, but is very narrow in the south, intersected by salt marshes, producing corn, bad wine, and scanty pasturage, and inhabited by between four and five thousand souls, a considerable part of whom dwell in the town of Noirmoutier in the north. This was formerly called a happy island, its people being exempt from almost all the galling taxes which burdened their fellow subjects on the continent.

Belle-île.

Belle-île, or Fair-island, named formerly also Guedel, situate about twelve miles distant from the peninsula of Quiberon in Bretagne, is about fourteen miles long and six broad, environed by steep rocks which leave only three places for debarkation, inhabited by six or seven thousand souls, and enjoying so fertile a soil, manured with seaweed, as to yield abundance of grain in a never-failing harvest; but its principal, or almost only, traffic arises from a fishery of pilchards on its coasts. No port in this island admits large vessels. The chief town named Palais, divided into two parts by a channel filled by the tide at high water, contains between two and three thousand inhabitants.

Grouais.

Grouais, seated hardly three miles from the main land of Bretagne, extends in length five miles, less than two in breadth, and contains above a thousand inhabitants, who draw their chief subsistence from the fishery of the conger, a species of eel which abounds on their coasts.

Île des Saints.

Île des Saints, or Isle of Saints, of so low a surface as to be almost buried in the deep, and dangerous

rous to navigators by the rocks and shelves which surround it, lies on the coast of Bretagne, extends a mile in length, and contains about three hundred and fifty persons who subsist by fishing.

The isles of Ouessant, called Ushant by the English, are also situate on the coast of Bretagne. The largest, which gives name to the rest, is four miles long, less than three broad, of a flat surface, distant four leagues from the nearest part of the continent, almost inaccessible to an enemy, especially on the eastern side, where is but one entrance, and that so narrow as hardly to admit two men abreast. A lofty light-house gives direction to mariners. The land, quite destitute of trees, is accounted fertile; yet the cattle are extremely small, especially the horses, which are exported to the main land to teach children to ride: but the men are tall, vigorous, and well proportioned, the effect of freedom from oppression. The inhabitants, seven hundred in number, are of great antiquity, speaking a dialect of Celtic, and simple in their manners. Their bread is baked under the ashes; they suckle their children to the age of four years; and courtships for marriage are made by the females, each girl on such occasions going, accompanied by her parents, and offering food and drink to the object of her wishes, who, by his acceptance or refusal of these, testifies his consent or rejection.*

* Piganiol de la Force, tom. viii. p. 388—393.

THE
NORMAN ISLANDS,

The
Norman
Islands.

CONSISTING of Jersey, Sark, Guernsey, and Alderney, together with a few others of too small a size to be described, compose a group in the bay of Mount-Saint-Michel, where the coasts of Normandy and Bretagne diverge nearly in the width of a right angle. Consisting each of a vast rock variously coated with earth, and environed with formidable chains of rocks, some covered and others at various heights above water, they are of difficult and dangerous access, which constitutes their chief security against hostile invasion. Their collective areas may amount to above seventy-two thousand English, or near forty-five thousand Irish acres, and their inhabitants, for these isles are very populous, to the number of about forty-five thousand.

Politically united in former times to the duchy of Normandy, to which by proximity of situation they naturally belong, these islands became together with that duchy, annexed to the English crown, by the conquest of England under William the bastard in the year 1066. Hence, notwithstanding the re-union of the Norman continental territories to the state of France, they have remained an appendage of the British crown, not under the jurisdiction of the British parliament, but immediately subject to the monarch. Their internal government, whatever may be its apparent form, is
in

in fact a tyrannical aristocracy of the feudal kind,* instituted by king John, from whom the Norman dutchy was conquered by France, but quite under the control of the monarch, whose power, however, is not exercised with rigor, lest an alienation of affection might transfer the dominion to France. Their laws are old local customs of Normandy, regal ordonnances, and precedents. Their military force, beside a small number of British troops, consists of all the men able to bear arms formed into a militia. The people are all Protestants, subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop of Winchester; but their church is regulated by particular canons granted by king James the first in 1623.

The inhabitants of the Norman islands, notwithstanding their long subjection to the British crown, are almost all French, and speak the French language, the better sort a pure speech, the common people an antiquated, rather than corrupt, dialect, such as was in use in France in the sixteenth century. A principal production of their soil is cyder; their principal trade is fishing, chiefly on the banks of Newfoundland; and their chief manufacture stockings, the wool for which is brought from Britain.

Jersey, the most considerable of the Norman Jersey. isles, named anciently Cæsarea and Augia by the Romans, approximates in its figure a rectangle, or, as it is vulgarly termed, an oblong square, but rises gradually from south to north in the manner of a broad wedge; the southern shores low, the

* Jardine's Letters, vol. ii. p. 287—299.

northern

northern high, abrupt, and forming an uneven ridge or hill three hundred feet in elevation above the waves. The coasts are indented; particularly by the bay of Saint Aubin on the south, so that the land is narrower in the middle than at the extremities: its face is uneven with hill and dale, and watered throughout by streams which descend from the northern ridge. The whole assemblage forms a beautiful scene of rocky promontories, extensive amphitheatrical sandy bays, charming little shady vales and rivulets: perhaps the prospect might be still more pleasing if the divisions of the land were not too small, the fences too numerous, and the wood too abundant.

A tract on the west of the island is rendered barren by gradually accumulating sand; but the soil in general, sloping to the south and well watered, is fertile, and has been by industry rendered very productive. Among their corn is the froment tremais, a species of spring wheat which is ripe in three months after it is sown. The quantity of cyder annually produced has been above sixty years ago estimated at twenty-four thousand hogheads or more, but the products are alternately good and bad. The land is divided into so many small portions, that fences, hedgerows, and roads are supposed to occupy a fourth of the whole. Sea weed, collected in winter is used for manure; in summer, cut and dried, it serves for fuel. The industrious females of this isle are said to have knitted near five hundred thousand pairs of stockings in a year, and
fifteen

fifteen hundred of the men have embarked in the fishery.

Extending twelve English miles from east to west, and six or seven from north to south, Jersey contains in area about thirty-four thousand English acres, and is said to be inhabited by near twenty-five thousand souls. The chief town is Saint Helier, or Saint Hilary, with between two and three thousand people, situate on the east of the bay of Saint Aubin. South of this town is Elizabeth castle, the principal fortress of Jersey, erected on a tract which at high water is an island. On the west of the bay is the town of Saint-Aubin, whence it has received its name.

The custom of gavelkind prevails in Jersey, and tenures of land are happily not for a term of years, but for ever. The judicial and executive authority is vested in a court composed of thirteen magistrates, one of whom is called the bailly, the rest jurats. The bailly is appointed by the king, and has no vote, except on an equal division of the bench, but collects the opinions, and pronounces the sentence. The jurats hold their places for life, and are elected, when vacancies happen, from the parishes, in which election every parishioner has a vote; but some parishes have not the privilege of returning a jurat, while others return two or three each. This tribunal assumes different names from the different causes tried before it. In civil causes above a certain value, an appeal lies to the king in council, and in criminal, where malice propense is not apparent.

The

The legislative jurisdiction, and the imposition of taxes, is lodged in the convention of the states, or parliament, of the island, composed of the jurats, the clergy, and the constables. The bailly acts as prolocutor or speaker. It cannot be convened without the joint consent of the magistrates and the military governor, an officer appointed and removable at pleasure by the king, and one who, as representative of his majesty, has a negative on all its proceedings. The constables are triennial magistrates, one in each parish, elected in the same manner as the jurats. The beneficed clergy, including the dean, who is their immediate head, are twelve in number, that being the number of parishes. Their livings are very small, on an average little more than fifty pounds yearly each; the tithes having been seized by government, and appropriated to the governor's salary.*

Sark.

Sark, or Cers, distant four leagues from Jersey, rises high, steep, craggy, and inaccessible except in one place, so as to be defensible by a few against thousands. It extends about three miles in length, hardly one in breadth, contains about five hundred inhabitants, and is politically united with Guernsey.

Guernsey.

Guernsey, above twelve English miles long, eight or nine broad, but narrow in the south, containing thirty-two thousand English acres, and between fifteen and twenty thousand inhabitants, low in the north and high in the south, rises with a hilly surface in an aspect quite opposite to that of

* See Falle's Account of Jersey.

Jersey, from which it is distant seven leagues, and to which it is somewhat inferior in fertility, but similar in manufactures, trade, and productions, excepting that it is said to entertain no toads nor any species of venomous reptiles, though such are found in Jersey. The form of government, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, is the same as in that island. The parishes are ten; the ministers by unions only eight; their salaries on an average between sixty and seventy pounds each; that of the dean is hardly twenty, but he is also chaplain to the garrison. On a safe capacious bay on the east of the island is the only town, called Saint-Peters, inhabited by above four thousand souls.*

Alderney, or Aurigny, distant from Jersey nine Alderney leagues, and from Cape la Hogue in Normandy two leagues, rises high from the sea, environed with rocks like the rest of the group, almost destitute of trees, extending nearly four miles in length, containing four thousand five hundred English acres, and near two thousand inhabitants, mostly maintained by the productions of the island, the majority of whom inhabit the town called la Ville, and who are under the jurisdiction of Guernsey to which this isle is politically united.†

* See Dicey's Guernsey—a very bad performance.

† MS. penes me.

THE DEPARTMENTS OF FRANCE,

With the relative population of the rural parts of each, as
opposed to the towns at the time of the Revolution.

Names of the Departments.	Population of the Towns and Burgs.	Population of Villages and rural Parts.	Whole Population.
A'Ain, . . .	42,300	251,566	293,866
L'Aine, . . .	86,800	305,253	392,053
L'Allier, . . .	42,800	203,280	246,080
Les Hautes Alpes, . . .	29,500	151,833	181,333
Des Basses Alpes, . . .	38,060	180,606	218,666
L'Ardeche, . . .	24,600	185,533	210,133
Les Ardennes, . . .	62,100	113,260	175,360
L'Ariege, . . .	31,400	139,266	170,666
L'Aube, . . .	40,100	157,255	197,355
L'Aude, . . .	48,400	203,120	251,520
L'Aveyron, . . .	46,500	250,135	296,635
Les Bouches, . . .			
Du Rhone, . . .	163,200	158,933	322,133
Le Calvados, . . .	105,350	329,850	435,200
Le Cantal, . . .	39,950	237,385	277,335
La Charente, . . .	44,100	224,060	268,160
La Charente Inferieure, . . .	89,120	279,306	368,426
Le Cher, . . .	47,900	228,366	276,266
La Correze, . . .	32,750	221,692	254,442
La Cote d'Or, . . .	59,350	367,983	427,333
Les Cotes du Nord, . . .	27,500	441,166	468,666
La Creuse, . . .	22,800	244,293	267,093
La Dordogne, . . .	51,900	353,433	405,333
Le Doubs, . . .	36,500	187,500	224,000
La Drome, . . .	29,900	194,100	224,000
L'Eure, . . .	76,600	323,400	400,000
L'Eure and Loire, . . .	44,350	186,050	230,400
Le Finistere, . . .	63,000	417,000	480,000
Du Gard, . . .	100,700	124,900	225,600
De la Haute Garonne, . . .	71,600	182,053	253,653
Du Gers, . . .	54,600	214,200	268,800
La Gironde, . . .	200,000	408,000	608,000
D'Herault, . . .	108,700	155,833	264,533
			L'Ille

TABLE OF FRANCE.

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Names of the Departments.	Population of the Towns and Burga.	Population of the Villages and rural Parts.	Whole Population.
L'Ille and Villaine, .	50,800	439,866	490,666
L'Indre, .	50,650	219,750	270,400
L'Indre and Loire, .	82,500	267,366	349,866
L'Isere, .	33,700	269,873	303,573
Du Jura, .	30,900	218,700	249,600
Des Landes, .	36,500	209,700	246,200
Loire and Cher, .	51,400	207,800	259,200
La Haute Loire, .	41,100	172,233	213,333
La Loire Inferieure, .	108,100	399,633	507,733
Du L'Oriet, .	84,600	185,266	269,866
Du Lot, .	55,100	212,900	268,000
Du Lot and Garonne, .	39,200	262,666	308,666
La Lozerre, .	19,400	176,226	195,626
De Maine and Loire, .	94,000	200,666	294,666
La Manche, .	88,100	242,566	330,666
La Marne, .	76,200	206,466	282,666
La Haute Marne, .	36,100	177,293	213,393
La Mayenne, .	73,600	248,533	322,133
La Meurte, .	65,900	314,366	380,266
La Meuse, .	58,100	194,166	252,266
Le Morbihan, .	42,400	448,266	490,666
La Moselle, .	67,000	223,133	290,133
La Nievre, .	34,500	218,100	252,600
Le Nord, .	168,800	399,733	568,533
L'Oise, .	53,900	266,100	320,000
L'Orne, .	57,800	328,333	386,133
Du Paris, .	556,800	168,533	725,333
Le Pas de Calais, .	79,600	507,066	586,666
Le Puy de Dome, .	82,550	322,783	405,333
Les Hautes Pyrenees, .	35,000	122,866	157,866
Les Basses Pyrennees, .	55,490	131,465	286,955
Des Pyrennees Orientales, .	31,100	131,033	162,133
Le Haut Rhin, .	29,500	276,633	306,133
Le Bas Rhin, .	90,500	272,366	362,666
Le Rhone and Loire, .	215,400	460,440	675,840
La Haute Saone, .	18,700	231,966	250,666
Saone and Loire, .	60,100	342,033	402,133
La Sarthe, .	66,500	296,166	362,666
Seine and Oise, .	105,900	214,100	320,000
Le Seine Inferieure, .	184,550	261,316	445,866
La Seine and Marne, .	52,300	293,300	345,600
Des deux Sevrres, .	56,300	157,033	213,333
La Somme, .	91,600	294,533	386,133
			Le Tarn,

TABLE OF FRANCE.

Names of the Departments.	Population of the Towns and Burgs.	Population of the Villages and rural Parts.	Whole Population.
Le Tarn, . . .	51,900	171,500	230,400
Le Var, . . .	49,900	213,566	263,466
La Vendee, . . .	34,900	191,233	226,133
La Vienne, . . .	48,700	232,900	281,600
La Haute Vienne, . . .	41,300	140,033	181,333
Les Vosges, . . .	28,200	291,800	320,000
L'Yonne, . . .	72,900	366,566	439,466

The population of the eighty-two departments of France, at the time of the revolution, was according to this table, } 26,231,808

A Table of the principal Towns of France, with their Population before the Revolution.

Towns.	Population.	Towns.	Population.	Towns.	Population.
Marseilles,	100,000	Dunkirk,	27,000	Verfailles,	60,000
Aix,	24,000	Arras,	22,000	Perpignan,	15,200
Toulon,	30,000	Douay,	20,000	Poitiers,	17,500
Amiens,	44,000	Limoges,	22,000	Rennes,	35,500
Calais,	14,000	Angouleme,	13,000	Port l'Orient,	16,500
Abbeville,	20,000	Lyons,	150,000	Saint Malo,	17,500
Saint Quintin,	10,500	Saint Etienne,	27,000	Nantes,	57,000
Auch,	7,500	Metz,	40,000	Brest,	30,000
Pau,	9,000	Sedan,	17,500	Clermont,	24,000
Besançon,	25,500	Montauban,	20,000	Riom,	15,000
Bourdeaux,	90,000	Cahors,	10,000	Rouen,	73,000
Bayonne,	11,000	Montpellier,	40,000	Caen,	50,000
Bourges,	25,000	Touloufe,	56,000	Alençon,	13,500
Rheims,	30,000	Nismes,	50,000	Dieppe,	17,000
Chalons,	12,000	Moulins,	16,500	Soissons,	7,500
Troyes,	32,000	Nevers,	14,000	Straßbourg,	50,000
Dijon,	21,000	Nancy,	35,000	Colmar,	12,500
Macon,	9,000	Luneville,	16,500	Tours,	25,000
Grenoble,	25,000	Bar-le-Duc,	11,000	Angers,	30,000
La Rochelle,	18,000	Orleans,	40,000	Le Mans	13,500
Rochefort,	16,000	Blois,	12,000	Valenciennes,	19,500
Lisle,	67,000	Paris,*	560,000	Cambray,	15,000

* By the extension of the Barriers it may be said to have contained above 800,000 souls.

NAMES OF THE FERROE ISLANDS.

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Suderoe,
Lille-Dimen,
Stoere-Dimen,
Scuoe,
Sandoe,
Hestoe,
Kolter,

Vaagoe,
Myggenas,
Stromoe,
Ofteroe,
Calfoe,
Cunoe,
Bordoe,

Videroe,
Fugloe,
Suinoe,
Nolfoe,
Tint-holm,
Myggenes-holm,
Trolehofred.

Names of the Divisions or Syffels into which Iceland is divided.

Ifafiords,
Bardeffrands,
Strande,
Dale,
Sneefialdfness,
Hnappadals,

Myre,
Borgarfiords,
Kiolar,
Gulbringe,
Arnes,
Rangaavalle,

Skaptfell,
Mule,
Thingore,
Wadle,
Hegranes,
Hunavatns.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

